

**OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG THE AOS IN  
MOKOKCHUNG TOWN OF NAGALAND**

**ABSTRACT**

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# OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG THE AOS IN MOKOKCHUNG TOWN OF NAGALAND

## ABSTRACT

### Introduction

A shift in working population from agriculture and allied occupation to industrial and tertiary activities is a widespread phenomenon in almost all the developing countries. Such change in occupational structure, where the working population shift from one to another and from one generation to the other, is taken as occupational mobility. Thus, shifting of people from rural areas to urban areas and giving up of the traditional profession and taking up new ones are some of the examples of occupational mobility. According to *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, occupational mobility may be discussed by examining both the mobility of the occupations themselves and individual movement from one occupation to another. Mobility may involve changes in locus, function, income, prestige, power, independence, or other occupational attributes.

Occupational mobility is a significant dimension of social mobility. The phenomenon of occupational mobility is intimately associated with industrial urbanism and improved channels of transportation which have accelerated the process of migration from villages to cities and towns, movement of people from one job to another and vertical changes in the position of individuals and groups. Industrial urbanism has changed the demographic composition of different regions of the world, created new conditions of work, encourage the rise of occupations, professions and job opportunities, divided society into new hierarchical groups and classes initiating new forms of division of labour and thus social differentiation. In the same way, the revolution in the channels of transportation have gradually broken the isolation of rural and tribal communities and has brought them nearer to the cities and the industrial centres of production. As a consequence, the increased rate of migration and changes from lower occupations resulting in new patterns of status and the notions of prestige have also emerged as an inherent factor.

Occupation is one of the common indicators of stratification. Most studies on stratification have shown that the level of occupation is highly correlated with levels of income, prestige and power. It is commonly observed that some occupation accrue more respect, money and power than others. The fact that occupations appear to be stratified along several dimensions have led many scholars to study societal stratification by studying occupations.

Therefore, the occupational structure is considered to be so important in a social system that a job can serve very largely to determine a man's general social

status. His occupation has direct effects on factors like income, possessions, place of residence, associates, leisures, expenditures and in general, the kind of privileges and disadvantages that constitute his daily experiences. Recognition of achievement and dignity of position are sometimes more pecuniary rewards. It is perhaps not so much to say that only in a very exceptional case could an adult man be genuinely self-respecting and enjoy a respectable status in the eyes of others if he did not earn a living in an approved occupational role. It is not only a matter of his own economic support which is involved, but also generally speaking, his occupational status of the primary source of his income and thus class and status.

For a long time India has maintained the age-old traditional occupational patterns. These occupations have been specific and hierarchical in nature. They were mainly caste bound occupations and were non-competitive in character. One of the major changes that the new system of education introduced was a gradual disassociation of occupation from caste, while occupations in the traditional caste system were rated in terms of ritual, purity and pollution, they are today rated to some extent in terms of income they produce.

The pace of development has been phenomenal in post independent India, where the goals of planned development have been to transform a backward colonial system into a modern industrial one. The five year plans have undertaken this challenge in their own rights and every region in the country has felt this impact. It is therefore, natural to think that the nature of occupational and professional structure has considerably changed in recent times. Thus this study is a modest attempt to examine these problems stated in a developing tribal community of North Eastern India.

The aim of this endeavour is to find out the patterns of occupational mobility among the Aos of Nagaland. The Aos belong to a very enterprising tribal community and they are now comparatively one of the most literate groups in Nagaland state. Of late, their contact with the outside world has resulted in a considerable change in their day-to-day life. The occupational diversification and educational advancement among them were the natural consequences of such a contact. Their process of transformation as with other Naga tribes was accelerated by the impact of Colonial Control, spread of Christianity and growth of education which opened up their mental horizon and changed slowly their economic interests to other activities other than cultivation. In all these processes, the need to earn formal currency and establishment of salaried menial services by colonial administration began the slow process of ushering in different forms of occupations, which proliferated during post-independent India and much more following the creation of the Nagaland state in 1963. The occupations under focus predominantly are government salaried services and private enterprises of trade, commerce and business.

## **Brief Review of Literature**

As occupational mobility has been widely accepted as the most important part of social mobility and change thereof, many studies have tried to highlight this matter. In this regard, special mention may be made of Form and Miller (1949), Lipset and Bendix (1952), Frazer (1959), Smelser and Lipset (1964), Goldhamer (1968) and Peil (1972).

In India and its North Eastern Region, the study of social mobility in general and occupational mobility in particular is a widespread phenomenon. The traditional association of caste and occupation, low pace of industrialization and limited urban growth have always restricted occupational mobility. However, the situation has comparatively changed recently and we find changes taking place in the structure and nature of numerous occupations both rural and urban areas. Among these, mention may be made of the studies undertaken by Jain (1969), Nijhawan (1969), Kamu and Wiebe (1973), Dubey (1975), Ch. Uma Mohan (1980), Shyam Lal (1981), Sunanda Pande (1986), Datta (1991) and Mahanta (1992).

Of Nagaland and its tribal society, although of late, there are proliferation of published data, all these mainly deal with political history, ethnicity and Christian church activities, in addition to government reports of unemployment, agricultural and rural development activities. Thus, this research effort will be an humble attempt so far as occupational mobility of the Naga tribals.

## **Objectives of the Study**

In the light of what has been said so far, the present study has the following objectivities.

1. To explore the emerging pattern of occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung town.
2. To examine the patterns of inter and intra-generational occupational mobility.
3. To examine the impact of religion on occupational mobility.
4. To examine the impact of education on occupational mobility.
5. To examine the impact of migration on occupational mobility.

## Methodology

The present study was conducted among the Ao Nagas in Mokokchung town of Nagaland. The field work was conducted in Mokokchung town. The data have been drawn through interview schedules and observations.

According to the 1991 Census, the population of the Mokokchung town is 24,636. Out of this, the Ao population is 85% which is approximately 20,940. As the present study is concerned with occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung town, a sample of 600 respondents has been taken which makes 3% of the Ao population in the town.

For the present study, the sampled respondents were drawn through random sampling method from the 14 (fourteen) wards in the town. There are approximately 200-500 Ao households in each ward depending on the size of the ward area. From each ward, 40-45 sample households have been selected (one respondent from each household). The sample respondents so drawn from each households includes all the different categories of occupations included in the list and thus could attain an equal chance of representation.

The present study proposes to use eight categories of occupations which are suited to the present purpose, and it has been used to classify occupations in terms of their social prestige. The data so collected were supplemented with genealogical studies and comparative methods.

## Major Findings

The present study of the occupational mobility among the Ao Nagas was confined to the understanding of the emerging pattern of occupational mobility, the patterns of inter and intra-generational occupational mobility, the impact of religion on occupational mobility, the impact of education on occupational mobility and the impact of migration on occupational mobility. Thus, the findings of the present study may be briefly presented as follows:

The present study reveals that a new pattern of occupational mobility is thus emerging to urban Ao people living in Mokokchung town. They experience a shift from the rural traditional occupations i.e., (shifting cultivation and other traditional arts and crafts) to that of the modern type of occupations (govt. services, contract works, business, etc.). The impact of colonial control, spread of Christianity and growth of education has opened up their mental horizon and has slowly changed their economic interests to other activities other than cultivation. It has been also observed that due to rapid urbanization, improved channels of transportation and communication, people from rural areas immigrate to the town in search of employment other than cultivation. The main reason for such deviation as most of

the respondents said, was due to low productivity in the old traditional pattern of agriculture.

The study of inter-generational occupational mobility reveals that, there is a marked degree of increase in the rate of shift from traditional to that of modern occupations from generation to generation. With regard to the horizontal and vertical mobility among the four generations the rate of upward mobility is high in all the four generations, majority of them left their parental occupations and moved vertically to higher level of occupations other than parental traditional occupations. It may be observed that due to lack of education and exposure to urban societies majority of the grandfathers and fathers were illiterate and engaged in agriculture which is treated as traditional occupation in the modern society.

With regard to the intra-generational occupational mobility it reveals that, the percentage of those who did not experience any occupational change is higher than the respondents who have experienced one to three changes and even more. Majority of them shifts to occupations other than their parents' occupations. A very less percentage entered their fathers' occupations. The rate of shifting is more among young people than the older people, and among the more qualified than the less qualified groups. The mobility rate is also high in case of respondents engaged in non-manual occupations than manual occupations. Sometimes earnings obtained from farming and business are generally high when compared to those who are engaged in government salaried jobs. This is one reason why they do not change their jobs. It is also observed that, all the mobile respondents in general moved in the horizontal direction from their previous occupations.

The study on the impact of religion on occupational mobility reveals that, before the coming of Christianity, majority of the grandfathers and fathers were illiterate and mainly engaged in agriculture for their livelihood. It may be observed that from the respondents' generation, cent per cent of the Ao people have converted into Christianity and engaged in non-manual occupations. Many of them have given up traditional beliefs and practices and accepted Christianity and education, which goes side by side. Thus it may be observed that with the coming of Christianity there is a tremendous change in the Ao society which has also opened new channels for occupational mobility.

The study on the impact of education on occupational mobility reveals that, majority of the grandfathers and fathers were illiterates and engaged in agriculture and other traditional occupations. Those who attained higher occupational status also did not have adequate educational requirements as per modern standards. From the respondents' generation it reveals that those who are engaged in higher occupational status generally fulfill the required educational qualification for their occupational positions. Thus, it clearly indicates that there is a basic relationship between education and their occupational position.

The occupational status of an individual is not ascribed merely by birth or heredity but is achieved by hard work, education and training. Before there was no unemployment problem in the society due to less educated people and not requirement of so much specialization and training for entering a job. But nowadays, due to the swift acculturation the highly educated youths are depriving by unemployment problem in the society. Thus, it has been observed that, in modern days, education plays an important role in the occupational structure.

The impact of migration on occupational mobility reveals that, there is a significant increase in non-manual occupations and a decrease in manual occupations. Those who were employed before migration were placed in better positions occupationally when compared to those who were unemployed before migration. Another observation is that, urban-urban area migrants are placed in better occupational positions than those rural-urban area migrants.

It is also observed that most of the Ao people who reside in the Mokokchung town and engaged in different jobs other than cultivation still practice some of the traditional occupations as a side job. Thus one can say that the Ao migrants are not totally isolated from the traditional occupations despite migration.

There are thus three major approaches in the present study which have to be resolved in future course of action. One, extensive employment programmes for the new educated generation in different types of enterprises are essential. Two, training in improved farming methods is essential in order to increase their outputs and thereby creating employment for the unemployed. And three, management of natural resources should be improved as the flow of external people gives rise to the problem of adjustment in all respects of social, political and economic.

## Chapterization

Chapter I – Introduction deals with the statement of the problem, review of literature, objectives and methods of the study.

Chapter II deals with the Land and People.

Chapter III – Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents: It deals with the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents with special reference to the emerging pattern of occupational activities.

Chapter IV – Inter and Intra-Generational Occupational Mobility: It deals with the rate of mobility in four generations (grandfathers, fathers, respondents and children) and the rate of mobility of occupational changes in the respondent's life time.

**Chapter V – Impact of religion on Occupational Mobility: It deals with the influence of education on occupational mobility.**

**Chapter VI – Impact of Education on Occupational Mobility: It deals with the influence of education on occupational mobility.**

**Chapter VII – Impact of Migration on Occupational Mobility: It deals with the influence of migration on occupational mobility.**

**Chapter VIII deals with major findings and conclusion.**

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By  
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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY  
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

THESIS SUBMITTED IN  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE  
**DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**TO**

**NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY  
SHILLONG**


**2004**

## CERTIFICATE

I certify that the thesis entitled "*Occupational Mobility Among the Aos in Mokokchung Town of Nagaland*" submitted by *Ms. Imlirenla Walling*, is in fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology* to the North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong. It is based on first hand investigation carried out under my supervision.

She has been duly registered and thesis presented is worthy of being considered for the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology*. This work has not been submitted for any degree of any other University.

Date: 1/July/04

  
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2004


**DECLARATION**

I, Ms. **Imlirena Walling**, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to me, or, to the best of my knowledge, to anybody else, and that the thesis had not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institution.

This is being submitted to the North-Eastern Hill University for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology**.

  
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**Shillong**

  
**(IMLIRENILA WALLING)**

**The 1<sup>st</sup> July 2002**

## CONTENTS

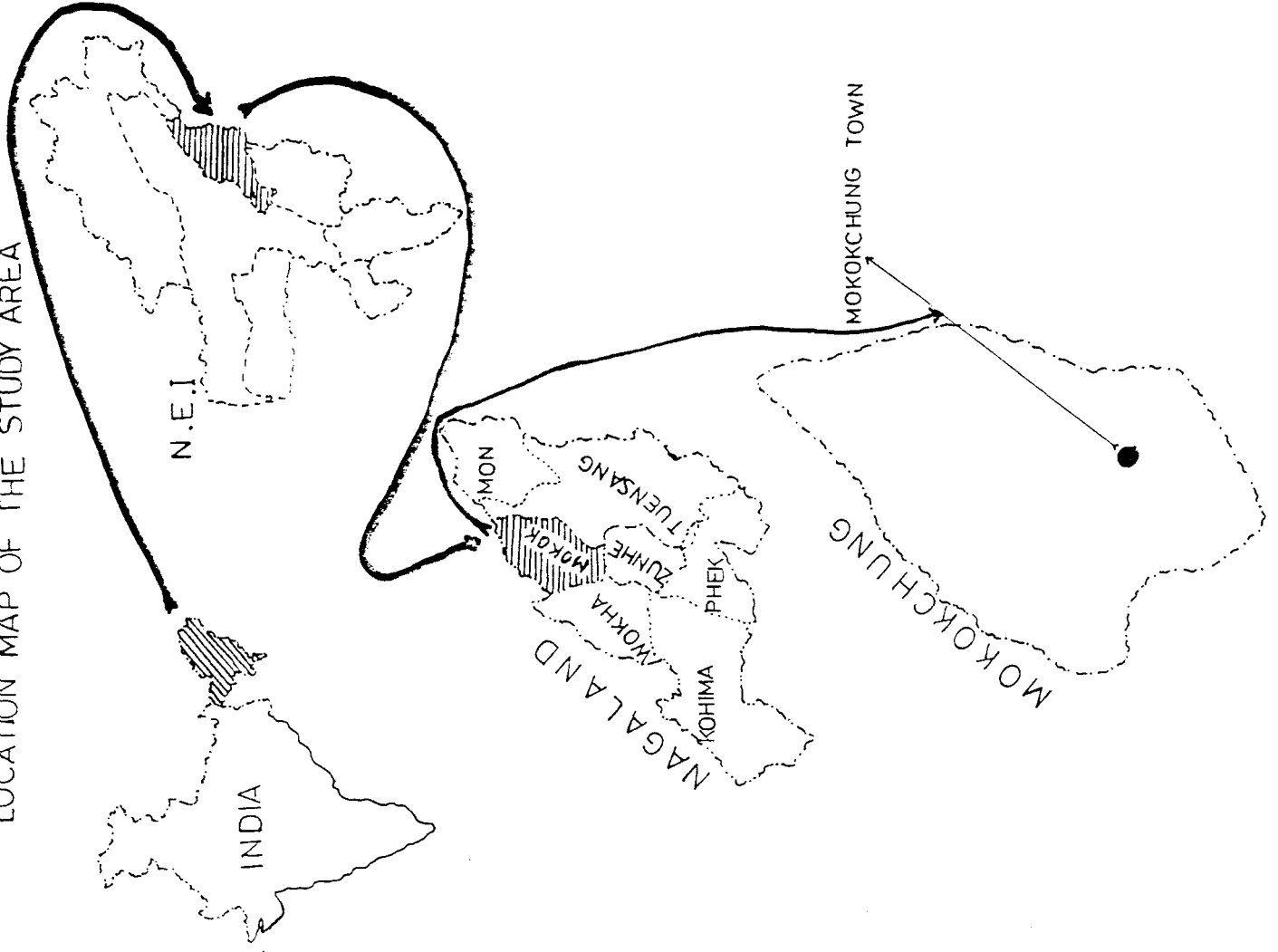
	<b>Pages</b>
<b>Declaration</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Map</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>CHAPTER I Introduction</b>	<b>1-23</b>
<b>CHAPTER II Land and People</b>	<b>24-38</b>
<b>CHAPTER III Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents</b>	<b>39-60</b>
<b>CHAPTER IV Inter and Intra-Generational Occupational Mobility</b>	<b>61-83</b>
<b>CHAPTER V Impact of Religion on Occupational Mobility</b>	<b>84-105</b>
<b>CHAPTER VI Impact of Education on Occupational Mobility</b>	<b>106-128</b>
<b>CHAPTER VII Impact of Migration on Occupational Mobility</b>	<b>129-153</b>
<b>CHAPTER VIII Conclusion</b>	<b>154-162</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>163-175</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

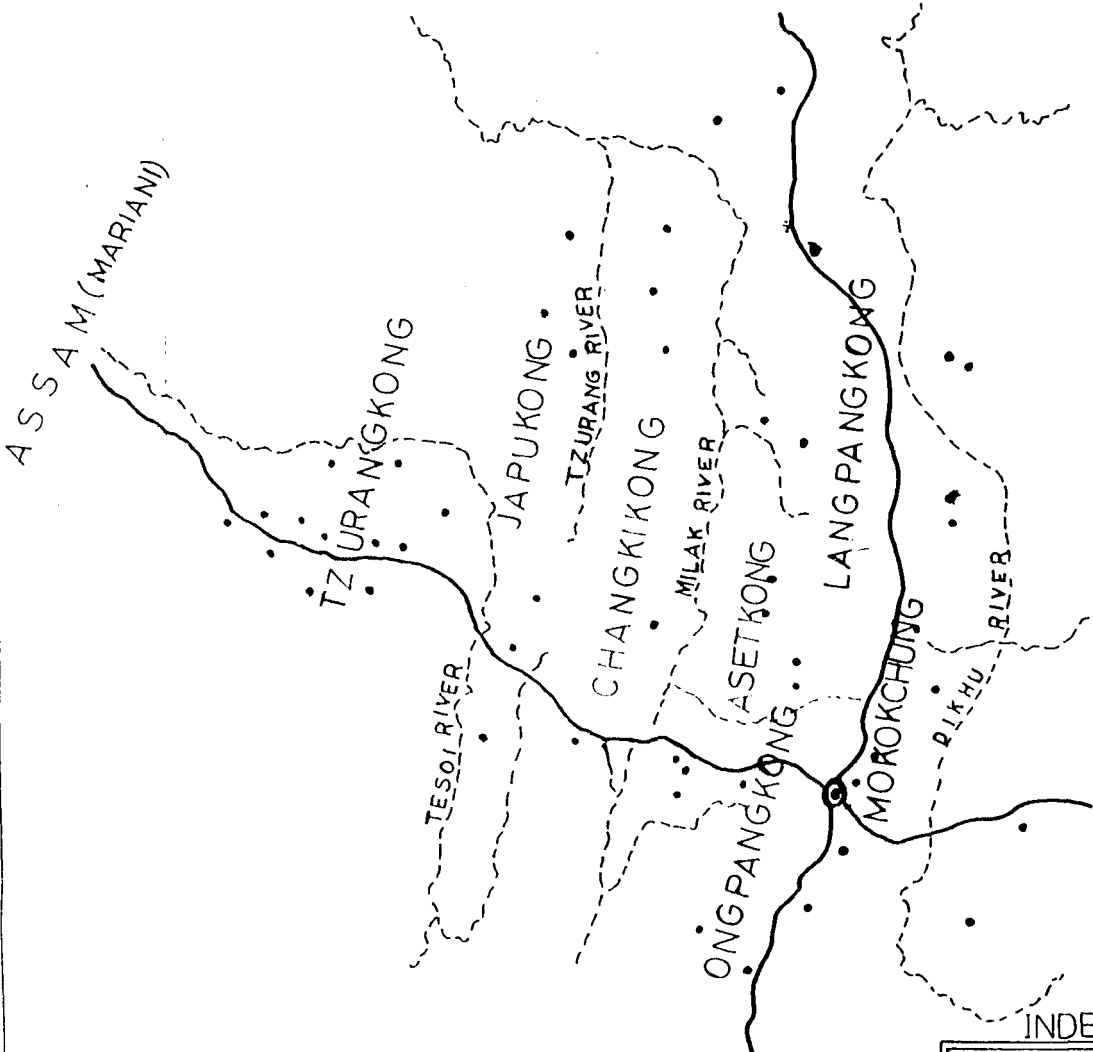
<b>Table No.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>
1.	Age Range of Respondents	8
2.	Place of Births of the Respondents	9
3.	Marital Status of the Respondents	11
4.	Educational Attainment of the Respondents	11
5.	Present Occupation of the Respondents	12
6.	Present Income of the Respondents	13
7.	Economic Class Positions of the Respondents	14
8.	Inter Generational Occupational Mobility in Four Generations	68
9.	Horizontal and Vertical Mobility Among the Four Generations	73
10.	Intra-Generational Occupational Changes within Each Occupational Category	74
11.	Direction of Intra-Generational Occupational Mobility Among 295 Respondents	77
12.	Grandfathers' Occupation and Religion	95
13.	Fathers' Occupation and Religion	96
14.	Respondents' Occupation and Religion	97
15.	Children's Occupation and Religion	98
16.	Grandfathers' Occupation and Education	115
17.	Fathers' Occupation and Education	116
18.	Respondents' Occupation and Education	118
19.	Children's Occupation and Education	120
20.	Occupational Positions of 298 (70.61%) Migrant Respondents Before and After Migration	137

<b>Table No.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>
21.	Present Occupational Positions of Migrant (Who were Unemployed, Employed before Migration) and Non-Migrant Respondents	138
22.	Occupational Mobility Among the Rural Born and Urban Born Respondents	142
23.	Occupational Mobility Among 422 Migrants From Rural-Urban and Urban-Urban Areas	143

LOCATION MAP OF THE STUDY AREA



# AO RANGE

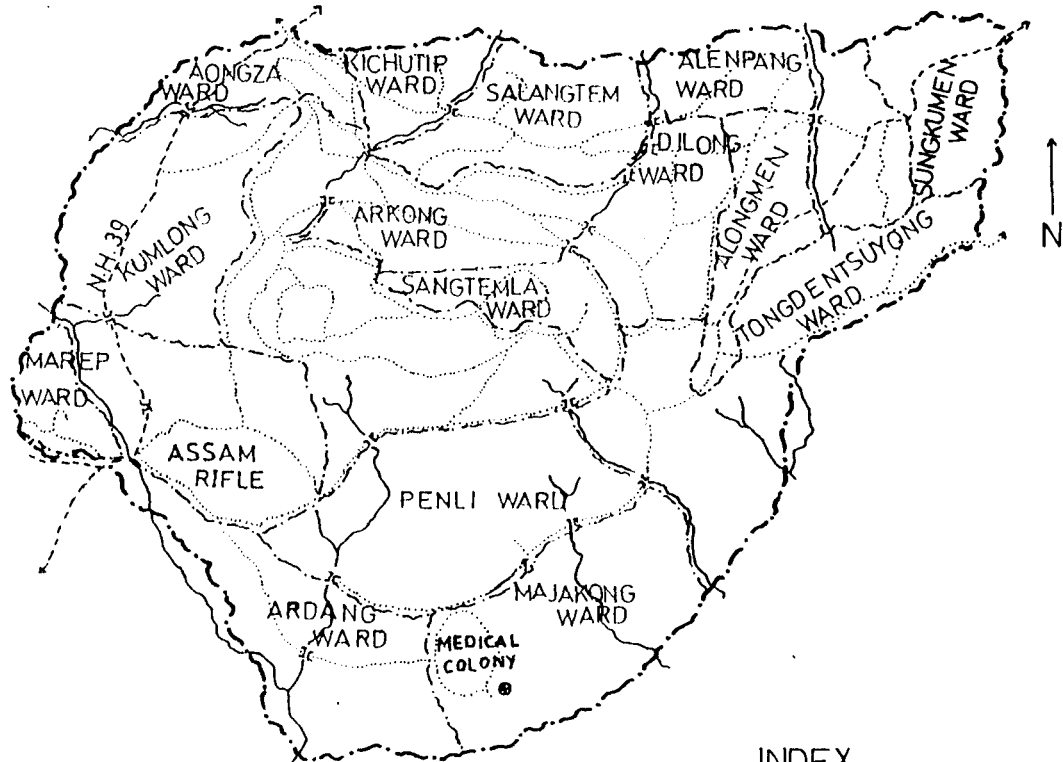


## INDEX

DIST. HEADQUARTER	⊙
VILLAGES	•
STATE HIGHWAY	—
RIVERS	- - -

MAP NOT TO SCALE

# MOKOKCHUNG TOWN



## INDEX

BOUNDARY	
WARD BOUNDARY	
STREAM/DRAIN	
ROADS (Inter locality)	
ROADS (N.H.)	

MAP NOT TO SCALE

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### Statement of the Problem

A shift in working population from agriculture and allied occupation to industrial and tertiary activities is a widespread phenomenon in almost all the developing countries. Such change in occupational structure, where the working population shift from one to another and from one generation to the other, is taken as occupational mobility. Thus shifting of people from rural areas to urban areas and giving up of the traditional profession and taking up new ones are some of the examples of occupational mobility. According to *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*,<sup>1</sup>

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Occupational mobility is a significant dimension of social mobility. The phenomenon of occupational mobility is intimately associated with industrial urbanism and improved channels of transportation and communication which have accelerated the process

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1. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 11 & 12, David L. Sills (Ed.), The Macmillan Company and The Free Press, New York, 1972.

of migration from rural-urban, movement of people from one occupation to another resulting in vertical changes in the occupational position. Industrial urbanism has changed the demographic composition of different regions of the world, created new conditions of work, encouraged the rise of occupations, professions and job opportunities, divided society into new hierarchical groups and classes initiating new forms of division of labour and thus social differentiation. In the same way, the revolution in the channels of transportation have gradually broken the isolation of rural and tribal communities and has brought them nearer to the cities and the industrial centres of production. As a consequence, the increased rate of migration and changes from lower to higher occupations resulting in new patterns of status and the notions of prestige have also emerged as an inherent factor.

Occupation is one of the common indicators of stratification. Philip (1990:8) states that, "occupation has been recognized as a reliable and most common indicator of social stratification". He further points out that, "In the various dimensions of social stratification like consumption ranking, social class, power rankings, etc., occupational ranking occupies a key position." Most studies on stratification have shown that the level of occupation is highly correlated with levels of income, prestige and power. It is commonly observed that some occupation accrue more respect, money and power than others. The fact that occupations appear to be stratified along several dimension have led many scholars to study societal stratification by studying occupations. M. Hahalembor (1980) states that, "occupation is used as an indicator of social class and researchers use different criteria for

ranking occupations. Many researchers classify occupations in terms of the prestige associated with them, others place more emphasis on the economic rewards attached to them.”

Therefore, the occupational structure is considered to be so important in a social system that a job can serve very largely to determine a man's general social status. Blau and Duncan (1967: vii) while describing the close relationship between occupations and social status state that, “In the absence of hereditary castes or feudal estates, class differences come to rest primarily on occupational positions and the economic advantages and powers associated with them.” Thus individual's occupation has direct effects on factors like income, possessions, place of residence, associates, leisure, expenditures and in general, the kind of privileges and disadvantages that constitute his daily experiences. Recognition of achievement and dignity of position are sometimes more pecuniary rewards. It is perhaps not so much to say that only in a very exceptional case could an adult man be genuinely self-respecting and enjoy a respectable status in the eyes of others if he did not earn a living in an approved occupational role. It is not only a matter of his own economic support which is involved, but also generally speaking, his occupational status as the primary source of his income and thus class and status.

Occupational mobility in rural areas has been greatly influenced by urbanization. The more the village community is affected by urbanization the greater is the occupational diversification and migration. Sometimes motivation for outward migration is continued by

the stress of the village economy. The attitude changes towards the traditional occupational structure, however, as a result from both external and internal forces. The external forces are land reforms, secularization, industrialization, urban contacts, means of communication, transport and modern education. The internal forces include the village economy, and the nature of castes and class distinctions in the villages. Barber<sup>2</sup> observes that, "there are two sets of forces responsible for bringing about social mobility, outside forces and various internal social structural pressures." The movement of population from rural to urban areas thus makes it almost inevitable that migrants living in urban societies take up to careers different from those of their parents. The diversity of labour in the city provides migrants with an adequate range of choice for those who are qualified and trained to take up jobs, irrespective of their caste affiliation. Ghurey (1961:241) states that, "the unfreedom of occupation in actual operation at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was accompanied by a staunch belief that almost everyone of the large number of caste had an occupation which was its own, its traditional and hence the hereditary occupation of its members, to abandon which in search of another was at least not proper, if not actually sinful." It is observed that as the members of some of the low caste groups receive education and technical skills, they tend to acquire better occupational positions resulting in the shift from low-skilled and manual occupations of their

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2. Barber, Bernard, "Social Mobility in Hindu India", *Social Mobility in the Caste System in India*, (ed.), James Silverberg, Monton Publishers, The Hague, 1968, pp. 18-35.

forefathers to those of higher level occupations in an urban social structure. Thus, education has transferred certain occupations into professions which require special training, a prescribed educational standard and skill. Modern professions are equally the result of education as well as industrialization. During the nineteenth century when most of the present professions were in the process of rise and growth, they did not require so much specialization and training, but these days there is a definite indication that one after the other, different occupations are being transformed into professions demanding skill and standard.

The growth of cities, industries and the modern age of urbanism changed the closed pattern of stratification which was purely caste based. Srinivas (1967: 63) describes, "The forces of modernization opened new channels for occupational mobility. Education facilitated the acceptance of new occupations. The new opportunities, educational, economic, political were in theory caste-free, that is, they were open to all, and no one was banned from having access to them by reason of birth in a particular caste or set or religion."

Thus, it is observed that the modern age of urbanization has changed the closed pattern of stratification which was purely caste based. Norms like personal achievement, equality of opportunities, competition, educational standard, skill, efficiency, initiative, etc., have emerged on the scene. Urban centres, mechanized forms of production, social mobility, stratification and occupational structure are therefore, interrelated terms. All industrial societies in general are characterized

by their phenomena of vertical mobility, their open type of stratification, and their diversification of occupational structure owing to an increased rate of education and specialization. Thus mobility may be understood in the context of the pattern of the stratification and the occupational structure of a particular society.

The study of inter-generational mobility and intra-generational mobility explains the rate of mobility from the parental occupation and the traditional occupations in four generations in general and the rate of mobility or number of occupational changes in the respondents life span, in particular.

The process of migration in general and rural to urban in particular leads to occupational mobility, with the advent of industrialization and changes in the mass media of communication more and more people from rural areas are able to move to urban areas and thus they are able to realize the value of education and achieved occupational positions.

Longchar (1985: 152) states that, “with the onset of modernization, an urban consciousness has developed among the tribals and as a result people from the rural areas emigrate to the towns in search of employment and other occupations.” As a result of migration, individuals aspire for higher educational and occupational opportunities for their children, lay more stress on English medium of education and other professional, technical and commercial types of courses which prepare them to capture higher occupational positions. They can easily

explore the various avenues of occupations existing in the towns and cities. Thus the process of industrialization, migration and increased educational opportunities encourage individuals to specialize in various technical fields, irrespective of one's caste background. Education plays a key role in the occupational structure, as the educational qualifications have become a prerequisite in the attainment of occupational positions of the present day modern occupational structure, finally resulting in the deviation from traditional occupations to secular occupations. The said shift from traditional occupations has become a common phenomenon in modern times.

In dealing with the present situation one cannot ignore the cultural background of the past, because the present society is the result of series of changes that has taken place in the past society as it has been quoted by Khashim Ruivah in the words of the great anthropologist Franz Boaz (Khashim Ruivah, 1993: 2) "Each culture can be understood only as an historical growth determined by the social and geographical environment in which each people is placed and by the way in which it develops the cultural material that comes into possession from the outside or through its own creativeness."

Many scholars and renown anthropologists have conducted research on primitive tribe and its socio-cultural changes in various senses, especially mention may be made of E. B. Tylor (1971); Malinowski (1960); Radcliff Brown (1952). E. B. Tylor (1971) states culture as "Culture or civilization taken in its ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, moral, law,

custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society.”

In the study of primitive society, anthropologists like Tylor, Morgan and Frazer attempted to explain the origin of culture and made simplistic attempt to understand change. They believed that the primitive societies had already experienced dramatic change in the past.

The British social anthropologists seem to have more concern with the social consequences of change, in terms of structural adjustment. American anthropologists, on the other hand, were more concern with process and agent of changes. While Britishers were primarily concerned with the problem of socio-cultural change due to colonial rule, trade, the Americans were more concerned with the study of change as an outcome of Christianity, formal education, better contact with outside world, and economic development.

Therefore, in considering social change, one of the crucial problem areas in contemporary anthropology is that of socio-cultural change. The study of primitive societies and socio-cultural change has becoming more important or significant in the post first world war and second world war.

For a long time India has maintained the age-old traditional occupational patterns. These occupations have been specific and hierarchical in nature. They were mainly caste bound occupations and were non-competitive in character. One of the major changes that the new system of education introduced was a gradual disassociation of

occupation from caste, while occupations in the traditional caste system were rated in terms of ritual, purity and pollution, they are today rated to some extent in terms of income they produce.

In the 19th century, a significant landmark has been continued in the history of the tribal people of the North-east India, particularly to Naga society. It witnessed the transition from tradition to modernity in all aspects of social life and culture. Prior to the British arrival and Christianity to this region the people remained isolated. The Nagas lived in their isolated lives in their respective villages, which were more or less like village republics. However, it was during the year 1832 the British made their first entry into Naga Hills. According to Sema (1986), the first mass contact of the Nagas with the people living outside was made only during the Second World War.

The entry of the British administration brought along the Christian missionaries into the Naga society, particularly to the Ao society. The British intervened with the traditional political institutions and later they also introduced change in the subsistence activities of the people. The missionaries who came at the same time as the British colonizers, brought change in the indigenous religious beliefs and practices and many other aspects of life of the Ao people like dormitory system and traditional system of agriculture. Thus the impact of British administration and Christianity on the Naga society in general, and Ao society in particular, during this period has a tremendous impact on the socio-economic, religion, occupation, education and cultural field and eradication of some evil practices like head-hunting and superstitious

beliefs. Further, it leads to the gradual decline in indigenous arts, crafts, traditional system of occupation (agriculture), customary law and justice and indigenous industries.

The pace of development has been phenomenal in post independent India, where the goals of planned development have been to transform a backward colonial system into a modern industrial one. The Five Year Plans have undertaken this challenge in their own rights and every region in the country has felt this impact. It is therefore, natural to think that the nature of occupational and professional structure has considerably changed in recent times. Thus, this study is a modest attempt to examine these problems stated in a developing tribal community of North Eastern India.

The aim of this endeavour is to find out the patterns of occupational mobility among the Aos of Nagaland. The Aos belong to a very enterprising tribal community and they are now comparatively one of the most literate groups in Nagaland state. Of late, their contact with the outside world has resulted in a considerable change in their day-to-day life. The occupational diversification and educational advancement among them were the natural consequences of such a contact. Their process of transformation as with other Naga tribes was accelerated by the impact of colonial control, spread of Christianity and growth of education which opened up their mental horizon and changed slowly their economic interests to other activities other than cultivation. Longchar (1985: 152) mentions that, "primary schools have been opened in almost all the villages. Employment opportunities increased

in the government services, contract, supply work etc. and all these brought in money in unprecedented amounts. Educated people entered government services and well-to-do people have given up cultivation in favour of business. Such tertiary activities have brought in easy money to the people and that in turn changed the standard of living of many people.”

In all these processes, the need to earn formal currency and establishment of salaried menial services by colonial services by colonial administration began to slow process of ushering in different forms of occupations which proliferated during post-independent India and much more following the creation of the Nagaland state in 1963. The occupations under focus predominantly are government salaried services and private enterprises of trade, commerce and business.

Of Nagaland and its tribal society, although of late, there are proliferation of published data, all these mainly deal with political history, ethnicity and Christian church activities, in addition to government reports of unemployment, agricultural and rural development activities. Thus, this research effort will be an humble attempt so far as occupational mobility of the Naga tribals.

### **Review of Literature**

As occupational mobility has been widely accepted as the most important part of social mobility and change thereof, many studies have tried to highlight this matter. In this regard, special mention may be made of Form and Miller (1949). Lipset and Bendix (1952), Frazer (1959), Smelser and Lipset (1964), Goldhamer (1968) and Peil (1972).

Form and Miller (1949), distinguished the three phases of initial, trial and stable work periods from an analysis of 276 American occupational case histories. These periods enable a profile of secure and insecure work patterns to be devised. Their analysis also indicated that secure work patterns were typical of white-collar workers. They suggested that once an individual embarked upon a career at a particular occupational level, the probability was that he remained at that level.

The Oakland Mobility study by Lipset and Bendix (1952) has become something of a classic in the field. They report on the work experiences of 935 people who were the chief wage-earners in their families. They found that changes in job within the same occupation were far more common than the phenomenon of changing the occupation itself. As might be expected, those individuals who did change their occupation or jobs frequently were also more likely to change their occupation more often than the less mobile. The researchers further found a correlation between occupational status and the amount of mobility experienced by an individual.

Smelser and Lipset (1964) have found that the occupational mobility is more prevalent in the urbanized and industrial localities. Most of the occupational movements, according to them, in the urban centres do not contribute to changes in the occupational structure, but it involves a rearrangement of the members of the younger generation within a relatively stable structure. In the least urban and industrialized communities, most of the mobility that occurs is directly involved in the shift of the son's occupational distribution away from that of the

fathers. They also found that more urbanized and industrialized their place of residence, the greater was the similarity in the occupational distributions of fathers and sons.

In India and its North Eastern region, the study of social mobility in general and occupational mobility in particular is a widespread phenomenon. The traditional association of caste and occupation, low pace of industrialization and limited urban growth have always restricted occupational mobility. However, the situation has comparatively changed recently and we find changes taking place in the structure and nature of numerous occupations both in rural and urban areas. Among these, mention may be made of the studies undertaken by Jain (1969), Nijhawan (1969), Kamu and Wiebe (1973), Dubey (1975), Ch. Uma Mohan (1980), Shyam Lal (1981), Sunanda Pande (1986), Dutta (1991), and Mahanta (1992).

Jain (1969) conducted his study in Seohara, a middle-sized town in U.P. In this study, occupational mobility has been found to be the index of social mobility. He found that, social mobility in the town has occurred at a higher rate in the present subject and his father's generations than in the generations of the subject's father and grandfathers.

Nijhawan (1969) has drawn his data from a study of the Fourth General Election Consisted Sample of 1593 male voters selected at random from fourteen Indian States except the state of Assam and Jammu and Kashmir and all the Indian territories. The researcher has categorized the occupation reported by the respondents into two groups;

Agricultural and Non-Agricultural. Non-agricultural occupations have been further classified into five occupational classes (e.g., professions, white-collar, business/trade, skilled and semi-skilled), and agricultural occupations into three occupational classes (e.g., owner-cultivator and farmer, tenant-cultivator, and agricultural labourers). The findings of this study shows that there exists a strong and distinct relationship between the occupation of the respondent and that of his father. In other words, sons of certain origins enjoy a clear advantage in moving over to certain occupational classes. Considerably the extent of immobility into specific occupational classes, it has been found that the white-collar occupation is more easily accessible to members of other origins than any other class.

The major points that emerge from the study by Ramu and Wiebi (1973) conducted in the Kolar Gold Fields, an urban and industrial settings in Mysore state, South India, are as follows. The modal levels of educational accomplishment for sons are higher than those of fathers in each Varna category status stability is less among the sons than the fathers. Incidence of upward mobility is more among the fathers than the sons.

In a study on migration and occupational mobility in a village in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh, Mohan (1980) shows that out of the 27 migrants, 23 have experienced upward occupational mobility by switching over from their fathers traditional occupations. The present occupations of these migrants earn them better income and status than their father's and they also offer them better prospects for future.

development. Such prospects are not available to those migrants in their native village if they choose to remain there. Only one migrant had experienced downward mobility, as his study revealed.

Shyam Lal (1981) studied patterns of occupational mobility among the Bhangi caste in Jodhpur city. The findings show that there is evidence of change taking place from traditional to non-traditional occupations among the Bhangis.

Sunanda Pande (1986) studied the impact of factors such as class, education and migration on occupational mobility among different generations of Bhojpuri migrants in twin cities of Hyderabad. Her finding includes that, sons with higher parental class positions in general tend to occupy high occupational positions justifying the parental class influence. As regards the influence of education on occupational mobility, many of them could attain higher education and occupational status irrespective of their low parental education and occupational status. As regards migration and occupational mobility the migrants who were also employed prior to their migration did not prove to be very much mobile as far as occupational positions are concerned.

Dutta (1991) out of a field work conducted in two Upper Assam districts found that, it is quite natural that people with low educational and occupational background experience very little educational and occupational mobility. This becomes evident from the fact that upward mobility is reportedly more among the respondents having occupationally better placed fathers whereas non-mobility is found to

be common among lower occupational categories in rural areas and tea estates.

Mahanta (1992) conducted field work in Mawshbuit village on the outskirts of Shillong urban area. He found that this village experienced various kinds of occupational adaptations, which were not known to tribal people earlier, have found their way in due to increasing urban influences. The researcher further found that changing occupational structure through occupational diversification is required augmentation in the level of skills among the workers.

Of Nagaland and its tribal society, so far any particular review of the work done on occupational mobility have not been tried here. But the main purpose of review of literature done here is to show the traditional cultural life of the Nagas and also the development process of researches done in the Naga tribal society.

Furer-Haimendorf (1939) analyzed the gradual changes of the culture of the Naked Nagas. He gives an interesting account of the early life of the Nagas before they were influenced by the British administrators and missionaries and also describes the developmental process in the Naga society.

Horam (1988) made an analytical studies on the Naga tribes in general and states that one of the most remarkable changes that have taken place among the Naga society was the transitional from old beliefs to new beliefs, animism to Christianity. Beliefs in the old gods and superstitions are slowly passing away but these have been firmly

replaced by Christianity. The advent of Christian missionaries in the Naga society brought about a great change in the outlook of the people. This is because the missionaries were completely against some taboos and beliefs, which were against their religion and also which were considered not good for the people to practice or follow. Therefore, along with the changing condition in the society many taboos and beliefs were set aside and new forms of culture were introduced into their society.

Sema, P. (1992) studied the influence of the British rule on the traditional cultural life of the Nagas. In his analytical studies he found that a drastic change has been taken place in the socio-cultural and economic life of the Naga people by the dawn of the 20th century, with the gradual intensification of the colonial agencies, such as modern education, Christianity and the development of the district, employment avenues also increased significantly. He also found that, with a great input and change that the people who came in contact with the outside world took up government service, business, contract works or some other occupation other than cultivation. He found that, it was only with the coming of the British administration in Naga Hills that people rushed in for employment other than cultivation.

Ruivah (1993), in his ethnographic account on the Tangkhul Nagas, found that the social life of the Tangkhul society has been undergoing a rapid transformation as a result of the introduction of a new way of life mainly due to the impact of Christianity, contact with outside world, formal education and the imposition of a new political

system etc. The most important factor of social change among the Tangkhul began after the occupation of Manipur by the British in the last part of the 19th century. With the advent of Christianity social transformation of the Tangkhul society has taken place in numerous ways, the formal education in the Tangkhul society thus came into existence, the Tangkhul language as a written one for communicating ideas and thoughts have been introduced. Besides the formal education and mass literacy the missionaries introduced various other professional and religious education. He further found that, for imparting formal education many Tangkhul were trained in medical science as doctors, nurses and pharmacists and so on.

Mills (1926), in his monograph on the Ao Nagas, made an effort in investigation on socio-cultural life of the Ao Naga people and put them on record that, the Aos an agriculturalist. He made an elaborate studies on the original form of the Ao's traditional agriculture and the ceremonies connected with it. He stated about the Ao people that whether he a mission teacher, a carpenter or a government servant he farms his fields. He also traced the origin and migration of the tribe which gives the situations prevailing before the changes have taken place in the socio-cultural life of the Ao people.

In the Mokokchung District Gazetteers, Ghosh (1979) recorded that the changes of occupational pattern from the traditional one like shifting cultivation to other modern industrial one like government service, business and contract works is a significant transformation in the occupational culture among the Ao Nagas. He also recorded that,

formerly when there was no urban population, that is before the second world war, the number of people working in government service and business was very negligible. It was due to some factors like increase in number of educated people and migration of the people to the town as a result of modernization that the Ao people entered government services and business other than cultivation.

Imchen (2000) made an analytical study on the Ao Nagas and its socio-cultural and political change and found that, the Christianity especially the missionaries opened the villages to the outside world. He also studied the economic life of the Ao people and pointed out that, economically, the Aos depended on the agricultural products from the known history and thus they become agricultural tribe.

A number of study on traditional cultural life of the Naga tribal society and the developmental process among the Naga society have been done by many researchers. However, it may be pointed out that no study has been done so far among the Nagas in general, and Aos in particular, as occupational mobility is concerned.

### **Objectives of the Study**

In the light of what has been said so far, the present study has the following objectives:

1. To explore the emerging pattern of occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung town.
2. To examine the patterns of inter and intra-generational occupational mobility.

3. To examine the impact of religion on occupational change.
4. To examine the impact of education on occupational change.
5. To find out whether rural to urban migration helped the Aos in improving their position in the overall general Naga society by virtue of their contemporary status in the occupational structure.

### **Methods of the Study**

The present study is based on field work which is conducted in a purposively selected town called Mokokchung. The town is the district headquarters and the district is the home of the Aos. Being the nearest town than others, people from different villages migrates to the town for formal education, employment, business etc. other than cultivation as a result of modernization.

The present study is based partly on primary data and partly on secondary data.

The secondary data have been collected from the various available sources like books, journals, colonial reports, Church and missionary publications and other published books about the Naga society, including government reports and gazetteers and newspaper publications. Other secondary sources of which there are now a fair amount to be augmented by collecting the knowledge and experiences of members of the senior citizen groups, who as repositories of traditional knowledge and practices also are keen observers of the process of change among the Nagas.

The primary data have been drawn through interview schedules and observation. Prior to the actual investigation begins some of the important persons like ward chairman, elders, pastors, women leaders, youth leaders, etc. were contacted in order to get the preliminary necessary information. Before the interview schedules were served to the respondents, preliminary contact was made in order to get acquaintance with the people and informed them about the purpose of the study.

According to the 1991 census, the population of the Mokokchung town is 24,636. Out of this, the Ao population is 85% which is approximately 20,940 (Office of the Mokokchung Town Committee). As the present study is concerned with occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung town, a sample of 600 respondents (one from each household) has been taken which makes 3% of the Ao population in this town.

There are 14 (fourteen) wards in Mokokchung town, namely Sangtemla, Dilong, Alenpang, Arkong, Aongza, Kumlong, Salangtem, Ardang, Kichutip, Tongdentsüyong, Penli, Alongmen and Majakong. According to ward chairman reports, there are approximately 200-500 Ao households in each ward depending on the size of the ward area. For the present study, the sampled respondents were drawn through random sampling method from the 14 (fourteen) wards in the town. From each ward, 40-45 sample households have been selected (one respondent from each household). The sample respondents so drawn from each household, includes all the different categories of

occupations included in the list and thus could attain an equal chance of representation.

### **Classification of Occupation**

To classify occupations and arrange them in terms of their social status, nine categories of occupations prepared by Sunanda Pande (1986: 15-16) sum up with one or more categories together which are suited to the present study has been taken as a guideline in the present study. Thus the eight categories are arranged in the following manner.

1. Professional, semi-professional and administrative-occupations with highly specialized experiences and possessing a degree or professional qualification.
2. Managerial and executive – occupations responsible for initiating or managing.
3. Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual (higher grade) - occupations that may have some degree of authority over others.
4. Inspectional, supervisory and non-manual (lower grade) – occupations that involves a measure of responsibility.
5. Skilled – occupations that have a special training and responsibility for the work in which the individual is engaged.
6. Semi-skilled and unskilled – occupations that have no special skill or responsibility.
7. Farming – occupation includes different types of farming.
8. Other occupations – occupations that which could not be placed in the above given categories especially businessmen and different NGOs workers.

The data so collected were supplemented with genealogical studies and comparative methods, mainly focus on tracing back to migration from the village, the role of education in their lives and of availing new opportunities for employment other than cultivation.

### **Chapterization**

Chapter I - Introduction deals with the Statement of the Problem, review of literature, objectives and methods of the study.

Chapter II deals with the land and people.

Chapter III deals with the Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents.

Chapter IV deals with the Inter- and Intra-Generational Occupational Mobility of the Respondents.

Chapter V deals with the Influence of Religion on Occupational Mobility.

Chapter VI deals with the Influence of Education on Occupational Mobility.

Chapter VII deals with the Influence of Migration on Occupational Mobility.

Chapter VIII summarizes the Findings of the Thesis and discuss their implications.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LAND AND PEOPLE**

#### **Location of Nagaland**

Nagaland lies approximately between  $25.6^{\circ}$  N and  $27.4^{\circ}$  N Latitude and between  $93.20^{\circ}$  E and  $95^{\circ}$  E Longitudes situate in the North eastern part of India. The state covers an area of 16,579 sq.km.

Nagaland is bounded by Arunachal Pradesh in the North, Assam in the West, Manipur in the South and Burma in the East (North East A-Z, 2002: 187).

#### **Territory**

Nagaland was a district of Assam for nearly ninety years and was known as Naga Hills District of Assam. In December 1957, it became a separate administrative unit and was renamed 'Naga Hills Tuensang Area' and on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1963, it became a full-fledged state and came to be known as 'Nagaland'. It is the sixteenth state of the Indian Union.

Nagaland has eight districts, namely, Kohima, Phek, Wokha, Zunheboto, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Mon and Dimapur with Kohima as the capital of the state. Each district is occupied by as many as 15 tribes and their sub-tribes. They are Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Khamniungan, Lotha, Konyak, Phom, Rengma, Sumi, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Zeliang, Kuki and Pochury. The different tribes of

Nagaland are distinct from each other in terms of custom, language and dresses.

### **Topography**

The topography of Nagaland is very severe full of hilly ranges which break into a wide chaos of spurs and ridges. The land is blessed with great valleys, meandering streams, rivers, high mountains, deep gorges and a rich variety of flora and fauna. The highest mountain in Nagaland is the Saramati with a height of 3,841 metres above sea level and the second highest mountain is the Japfu with a height of 3,048 metres above sea level.

### **Flora**

According to the Mokokchung District Gazetteer (1979: 11-16) the vegetation of Mokokchung consists of both deciduous and evergreen forests. Various species of trees and plants are found in this district. Some of the common commercial trees are like Champa (*Michelia champaca*), Bonsum (*Phoebe goalparensis*), Amari (*Amoora wallichii*), Sam (*Artocarpers chaplasha*), Hilika (*Terminalia citrina*), which are used for constructing furniture, doors and windows, weaving industry, plywood, planks, agriculture implements etc.

Rhododendron, cotton, bamboo, cactus, wild flowers, orchid, fern etc., are abundant. Rice, maize, wheat, millet, mustard, potato, tapioca are grown in large quantity. Mango, banana, orange, cucumber, pineapple are also grown.

## Fauna

Major part of the district being covered by forest and jungles and there are plenty of birds and animals. But in the wake of modern civilization which has brought guns to this region after the second world war, those animals have become extinct owing to the indiscriminate hunting. However, still some of the following birds and animals are found in the jungles of this district.

Birds – White vulture (*Neophon percnopterus*), common peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*), common green pigeon (*Treron phoenicoptera*), Blue rock pigeon (*Columba livia*), House swift (*Apus affinis*), Hoopoe (*Upupa ejops*).

Animals – Wild boar (*Susscrofa linnaeus*), Barking deer (*Mustiacus muntjak*), Jackal (*Canisaureus linnaeus*), Leopard (*Panthera pardus*), Wolf (*Cavis rufus*), Python (*Reticulate python*). Lizards, toads, frogs and fishes are also found.

## Population of Nagaland

According to the 2001 Census, the total population of Nagaland is 19,88,636 persons, out of which, males constitute 10,41,686 persons and females constitute 9,46,950 persons. The density of population is 120 per sq.km. The sex ratio is 909 females per 1,000 males. The total number of literates is 11,46,523 persons, i.e., 67.11 per cent, out of which males constitute 6,45,807 persons at the rate of 71.77 per cent and females constitute 5,00,716 persons at the rate of 61.92 per cent. (Literacy rates for the years 1981 to 2001 relate to the population aged seven years and above).

### Districtwise Total Population and Literacy Rate as per 1991 Census

District	Total Population	Literacy (%)
Kohima	3,87,581	69.16
Mokokchung	1,58,374	77.85
Mon	1,49,699	36.02
Phek	1,02,156	62.59
Tuensang	2,32,906	48.39
Zunheboto	96,218	64.36
Wokha	82,612	73.92
Total	12,09,546	61.65

(Source: *Population Census, 1991*)

### Districtwise population and literacy rate as per 2001 Census

District	Population	Literacy (%)
Kohima	3,14,366	74.28
Mokokchung	2,27,230	84.27
Mon	2,59,604	42.25
Phek	1,48,246	71.35
Tuensang	4,14,801	51.30
Zunheboto	1,54,909	69.73
Wokha	1,61,098	81.28
Dimapur	3,08,382	78.15
Total	19,88,636	67.11

Of the eight districts, Tuensang has the highest population whereas Phek has the lowest.

The highest literacy rate is recorded in Mokokchung district, which is closely followed by Wokha district. The lowest literacy rate is reported from Mon district.

## **Language**

According to Grierson (1911), the Naga languages fall under the Tibeto Burman group. The English language is the official language of the state.

More than 85 per cent of the people in the state speak tribal languages. The speakers of the major tribal languages in the state are Angami, Lotha, Sema, Chang, Konyak, Kuki, Yimchunger, etc. Besides, speakers of Assamese, Bengali and Hindi constitute the major linguistic majority groups in the state (Report of the Commission for Linguistic Minorities in India, 1993).

## **Religion**

Naga religion is said to be animistic, they believe in both benevolent and malevolent spirits. Philip (1976: 37) says about the Naga religion as "Nagas worship natural forces, sun, moon, strong wind, heavy rain, trees, streams, stones and hills. There is plenty of evidence to say that the Nagas believed the embodiment of spirits in these forces. They fear the supernatural powers." The cause of troubles and prosperity that befall the people are attributed to the action of the evil spirits.

## **Impact of British Rule on Naga Occupational Mobility**

It may be said that the entire rural population depends on cultivation as their occupation. There were some people who besides cultivation, engage themselves in blacksmith, carpentry, masonry, timber and cane works, pottery making, ornamental production, weaving, etc., as side occupation. Earlier, when there was no urban

population that is before the coming of British administration, the number of people working in government service and business was totally absent. The impact of colonial control, spread of Christianity and growth of education which opened up their mental horizon and changed slowly their economic interests to other activities other than cultivation.

The above view has been described very clearly by Piketo Sema (1992: 137) as “With the gradual intensification of the colonial agencies, such as modern education, Christianity and the development of the district, employment avenues also increased significantly. The educated Nagas were readily employed as pastors, school teachers and as assistants of the colonial administration. Thus by the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Nagas were being absorbed in the services of the colonial administration. Surprisingly, however, the Census Report of 1911 records the number of Naga government employees as nil. However, the next report recorded the number of Naga government employees of all kinds at 20, all of them exclusively male, and it appears that this pattern of services grew upwards from year to year. The vast majority of the Nagas were, however, largely engaged in agriculture which was not only their mainstay but also their primary occupation. The Census Report of 1951 records the percentage of population which is agricultural at 94.1 per cent and non-agricultural at 5.9 per cent.”

The bulk of the people live in villages and agriculture preponderates over all other activities. It can be surmised that the entire rural population depends on cultivation for their livelihood. Everybody is a cultivator, both men and women and both children and olds.

Formerly when there was no urban population, that is, before the Second World War, the number of people working in government service and business was very negligible. It was only about two decades ago that people rushed in for employment other than cultivation. It was due to certain factors like increase in number of educated people and influx of the people to the town as a result of spread of civilization.

For centuries, Nagaland, of which Mokokchung district is a part, remained in isolation from the rest of India. It was completely cut off from outside influence because of this reclusion and absence of civilization in modern sense. After the advent of British administration the people of this area came in contact with the people of the plains and commercial trading started then. Formerly, these people could not carry on trade for fear of enemy, as head hunting was prevalent in those days. The economic trend of this district thus got impetus by coming under administration as well as in contact with the outside world. Even then the mainstream of economic trend of the country as a whole did not affect this area or for that the then Naga Hills in general. That time the only means of livelihood of the people was agriculture and a few cottage industries for local consumption.

It was only after the coming of British administration that the Naga people have come in greater contact with the outer world and their livelihood pattern got influenced and change to some extent. The change was in respect of earning wage as labourer, interpreter, or guide. There are many people who have entered into government service contract works, business, supply works and some other occupations. Of

different kinds of jobs, employment in Government offices, like clerks, teachers, nurses, Do-Bhashis (Interpreters) and administrative officers etc. Some people are also engaged in shop keeping, carpentry, masonry, supply works and daily wage for their subsistence.

The expansion of administration and establishment of developmental works, growth of communications, innovations, in agricultural patterns, spread of education, rise in literacy and many other factors have brought about a widespread transformation in the state as well as the district. The change that took place in the Naga society was largely due to the influence of the British rulers. New evolutionary trends such as population shifts to towns, and growth of new townships are also perceptible. Thus with a great impact and change that the people who came in contact with the outside world maintained the contact and took up government jobs. Contract works, business and some other occupation with great zeal and enthusiasm.

### **Mokokchung Town**

Mokokchung is one of the present eight districts of Nagaland. The district is the home of the Aos. There are some people of other tribes also, such as Semas, Lothas, Angamis, Sangtams, Changs etc. The non-Nagas are also residing in the district as they have come on service or business but have no permanency.

Mokokchung district is bounded by the state of Assam on the north and west, Tuensang and Mon district on the east, Zunheboto and Wokha district on the south. It covers 1,61,500 sq.km. in area with the density of 65 per sq.km. (*Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1983*).

The total population of the present Mokokchung district is 2,27,230 persons, out of which rural constitute 1,96,026 persons and urban constitute 31,204 persons. Majority of the people (85%) inhabited in the district is Ao. Literacy rates in Mokokchung district is 84.27 per cent which stands the highest among the eight districts in Nagaland (Census 2001).

Mokokchung district enjoys the monsoon type of climate which is quite pleasant and healthy over the year. The maximum temperatures during the summer is 27° C which do not rise beyond 32° C. In winter the night temperature comes down to 2° C. Average rainfall is about 2500 mm (100") and it falls for nine months of the year with greatest concentration in July and August (*Mokokchung District Gazetteers*, 1979: 16).

The district has few notable rivers, Milak, Dikhu, Tsurang, Tsumok and Menung. Of the few rivers, Milak is the longest river that flows across the Ao area and its source is found in the heart of Mokokchung town. Besides, many streams and lakes are also found.

The Mokokchung Town Committee has been divided into 14 (fourteen) wards:

- |              |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1) Sangtemla | 8) Ardang          |
| 2) Dilong    | 9) Kichutip        |
| 3) Alenpang  | 10) Sungkumen      |
| 4) Arkong    | 11) Tongdentsuyong |
| 5) Aongza    | 12) Penli          |

- |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| 6) Kumlong   | 13) Alongmen |
| 7) Salangtem | 14) Majakong |

(Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Mokokchung, Nagaland, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2000).

The Deputy Commissioner is the Chief Administrative Officer of the district. He is assisted by an Additional Deputy Commissioner, a Sub-Divisional Officer, an Extra Assistant Commissioner and a Circle Officer. For the administrative convenience, Mokokchung district is divided into eight circles and the entire area is administered from the headquarters at Mokokchung.

Working population of the district may be divided into four categories. They are cultivators, agricultural labourers, other workers and non-workers. The total working population in 1991 were given as 27.47% in cultivators, 0.24% in agricultural labourers, 10.96% in other workers and 61.36% in non-workers.

**Percentage of Working Population by Agricultural and other total Population (Total/Rural/Urban) in Mokokchung.**

District	Total Rural Urban	Cultivators		Agricultural Labourers		Other workers		Non-Workers	
		1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
Mokok -chung	T	28.31	27.47	0.27	0.24	12.90	10.96	58.53	61.36
	R	33.91	31.95	0.16	0.26	6.18	7.93	55.82	59.86
	U	1.59	3.17	0.76	0.76	26.21	27.28	71.44	69.41

Source: *Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 2000: 49*)

## Ao Nagas

The Ao Nagas are one of the 15 major tribes found in Nagaland. It was during the late nineteenth century that Christianity penetrated into the Ao Naga Hills. It was through the AOs that Christianity was first brought inside the Naga Hills. Alem (1994: vi) states that, "The AOs were the first Naga tribe to respond to the Gospel brought by the American Baptist missionaries through Dr. Bous Clark in 1872. Since that year there has been a gradual church growth among the AOs and the subsequent spread of the Gospel to all of Nagaland and beyond."

It may be mentioned that the AOs are the most educated of all the Naga tribes and they are most numerous in all the government jobs of the Government of Nagaland, and many are working outside the state. Besides, there are more Ao contractors and businessmen than among other tribes. (*Mokokchung District Gazetteers*, 1979).

The Ao tribe is divided into six administrative ranges, Ongpangkong, Asetkong, Langpangkong, Changkikong, Japukong and Tzurangkong. Mokokchung is the capital of the district and Impur is the mission centre.

According to Panger Imchen (1993: 20), the AOs have a legendary myth connecting with their ancestral origin in an ancient city called Chungliyimti. Chungli means the Chungli phratri; Yimte means city. Tradition holds that the AOs came out of stones near this city, tracing all the six major clans (Chungli, Longkum, Pongen, Jami, Mongsen, Longchar, Yimchen and Walling) as having emerged from six stones, called Longtrok (six stones).

The Aos have two major languages. They are Chungli and Mongsen. In several villages, these two linguistic groups living together by forming separate colonies (Khels), within the same Ao tribe. Tajenyuba (1993: 78) once mentions that, "Mongsen and Chungli lived together at Chungliyimti village before reaching their present country." The language differs widely from one village to another, in terms of accentuation and tone, that it becomes difficult to understand each other. The Chungli dialect is used as an official language in Ao area.

Inheritance and line of descent are vested through the males. If a man with only daughters and no sons gives land and money to his daughters, during his life time, those gifts and money would remain as their private property even after his death.

The Ao marriage system is pure exogamy. Marriage within the same clan is not allowed. Ao people practice patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal system. Monogamy is the only form of marriage, in which one man can marry only one woman at a time. Traditionally, the system of marriages found among the Ao tribe was through bride's price payment and negotiations. Nowadays, with the advent of western trends, it is more of courtship and free choice than negotiation.

Before the introduction of modern administration and Christianity, the Aos religion was considered as animism. They used to offer gifts and sacrifices to the spirits of the jungle, both benevolent and malevolent. Then came Christianity which made many converts. And now at present, almost cent per cent Aos are Christian.

There are two main traditional festivals for the Aos, which are observed annually by the villagers. They are 'Moatsu Mong' and 'Tsunngrem Mong'. Moatsu festival is performed in the first week of May. It is a day of blessing, and sacrifice is made by asking for blessing and prosperity. Tsunngremmong is another annual festival held in the month of August and sacrifice is made by seeking good harvest. Namo (1987: 23) says that, "For the Nagas these national festivals are the time of their life. Happy then are they that come to Nagaland in time for one of these festivals because once seen, it will leave a memory of splendour and of lasting beauty that can never be effaced."

The Aos are simple, strong, sturdy and hard working people. They have a free independent outlook. They are medium in size as well as in height. They are yellow-skin people with black hair. Nuh (1986: 54) describes the people of Nagas as, "The Nagas like other Mongoloids have broad head and are light complexion with black hair and yellowish eyes. There are about fifty tribes and sub-tribes with varieties of customs and traditions, broadly scattered between Brahmaputra and Chindwin rivers" A similar point is given by Shimray (1985: 7) as, "The Nagas are stalwart, athletic and of medium size with broad shoulders and high cheekbones. Their colour is like that of the Burmese, the Indonesians, the Malaysians, the Thais, the Japanese and the Chinese."

Nagas are conservative. They are not enthusiastic about changing their old ways and adopting new ideas and ways of doing things. But once they are convinced, they are enthusiastic. They think that the way

his father did things is the best and that cannot be bettered. Smith (1981: 8) once tried to persuade a young man to buy a pair of knee trousers and wear, but the man answered that, "it was not the custom to wear such" and that settled the matter.

Ao people are non-vegetarian. Food is taken thrice in a day especially in villages that is, in the morning, noon and afternoon. Rice is their staple food. They are very fond of meat and fish, besides they take different kinds of jungle leaves. Most of the cooking process is done by boiling. They enjoy drinking juices made out of different variety of fruits. They take tea a lot and black tea without sugar is a favourite drink for them.

Acculturation has made the people modern in terms of dressing. Formerly, the men used to wear only loin cloth. But nowadays many of the men of even the remote villages wear pants, shorts, shirt, and vests. Men in the towns or advanced villages, dress in the western style.

Most of the Ao people living in the villages are engaged in agriculture and it is the main source of their livelihood. Before jhum and terrace cultivation were only prevalent but these days they seem to have developed modern farming methods. They grow paddy along with different kinds of vegetables. Besides, they are expert in weaving, basket making, carpentry, wood carving, hunting, fishing etc. People residing in towns and cities are gainfully employed in government service or engaged in business for their livelihood. There are some men and women of outstanding Ao people, holding important and very high posts in various departments in and outside Nagaland.

According to the Ao tradition, a village government was set up consisting of representative from all clans of the village. This government or village council is known as 'Putu Menden' and the members of this council are known as 'Tatars' (officials). The village administration is carried on by the village officials and they are responsible for policy as well as dispensation of justice.

## CHAPTER III

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

#### Introduction

The present chapter deals with the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. It mainly deals with the age, marital status, place of birth, educational attainment, occupation, income and the economic class position of the respondents. Out of the six hundred respondents, majority of them have migrated from different villages and towns. Some of them are by birth of Mokokchung town, in these cases migration took place in their grandfather's and father's generations. They are engaged in different departments of government jobs. Some of them are also engaged in various independent occupations such as business, farming, NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) etc.

With regard to the educational attainment, eight categories of educational levels have been framed to collect the data. Thus the categories on educational levels are given in the following manner: (i) No schooling, (ii) Class A-6, (iii) Class 7-10, (iv) Matriculate, (v) Graduate, (vi) Post Graduate, (vii) Doctorate, (viii) Technical.

Occupation not only the major indicator of social status but occupation are a salient feature of everyday life. According to *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*,<sup>1</sup> occupations may be

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1. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Science*, Vol. 11 and 12, David L. Sills (Ed.), The Macmillan Company and The Free Press, New York, 1972.

defined as, "relatively continuous patterns of activities that provide workers a livelihood and define their general social status. Occupations emerge whenever division of labor is associated with a monetary economy and labor and commodity markets."

Dube (1975: 20) states occupation as, "Anyone engaged in an occupation in which there are repeated and standardized activities, tends to develop notion of status according to economic standards, a pattern of consumption, interests, values and an attitude towards life. In determining the status of an individual the role of occupation is very significant." Hall (1969: 6) also states that, "An occupation is the social role performed by adult members of society that directly or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major focus in the life of an adult."

Occupation can also be used as a criterion in constructing a classification of social status as it is linked to economic status and to the educational background. Albert (1961: 83-84) states that, "Both individual income and educational attainment, which are used as measures of socio-economic status, are known to be correlated with occupational ranks; and both can be seen as aspects of occupational status, since education is a basis for entry into many occupations, and for most people income is derived from occupations." Dunkerley (1975: 48), also provides a theoretical concept about the occupational status and prestige as, "Occupational status given an indication of the education and income that are associated with a particular occupation. On the other hand, occupational prestige is the evaluation of an

occupation by a number of people." All these definitions suggest that there is a co-relation between education, occupational status and income. The importance of an occupation and its co-relations to the pattern of living of an individual. It further suggests that, this major focus is transmitted into the social process and thus means that occupations are a major component of the social structure.

Before the advent of British administration and Christianity among the Aos, agriculture was the main occupation for their livelihood. It may be said that, 75% of the people lived in villages and they were mostly cultivators. The main form of cultivation was jhum cultivation or shifting cultivation. The Aos practice shifting cultivation on the traditional pattern. The practice involves cutting of the heavy jungle and convert it into a field where mixed cropping is applied. The cultivation in the same field is for two years only. But as during the second year, the output may be much smaller than that of the first year. The cultivators are prone to find out new jhum fields. And then the cultivation is simultaneously undertaken in both new and old fields. The practice goes in rotation from one year to another. In the jhum field crops of various kinds are grown besides paddy, taro, maize, chilli, pumpkin, cucumber, ginger, melon, gourds, millet, sweet potato, cotton, lentil, etc., are widely cultivated for consumption.

Although agriculture was their primary occupation, these farmers were also engaged themselves in blacksmith, carpentry, masonry, timber and cane works, pottery, spinning and weaving, dyeing, painting

on cloth, etc., as side occupation. So at agricultural slack seasons every village engages in these crafts and manufactures.

Some of the Ao traditional crafts and manufactures are described here in brief so as to know the traditional occupation more clearly before the coming of Christianity and to see the changes that took place in the life of the Ao people.

(a) **Spinning and Weaving** – According to J. P. Mills (1926:90) with regard to spinning and weaving it states that, “A poor chance of getting a good husband would an Ao girl have who did not know how to spin and weave and make clothes for the family.” Formerly, Ao women used to produce cotton and make yarn from it. Weaving was also done by women, they weave clothes for their family, like meklala, loin cloth, handbags, etc. They weave clothes on a traditional pattern.

(b) **Pottery and ornamental making** – Pottery was an important age-old industry and was a woman’s work. Changki was the most noted village in this industry. In the process of making pots, red and grey clay were mixed with water and well kneaded. The people were expert in making of traditional ornaments like bracelets, women’s head rings and heavy neck rings, etc.

(c) **Dyeing** – In olden days the Ao women used to dye their own yarn. Dyes were prepared from leaves of Osak (in local dialect). Painting of figurines on clothes was also practised by AOs frequently. They roughly drawn figures of tiger, cocks, sun, moon, etc. On shawl

like (Tsüngkotepstü) which could be worn only by warriors or those who had attained high and notable position in the society.

(d) Blacksmith and Wood carving – Formerly, no metal was worked at all by Aos. It was probably introduced as a result of constant intercourse of the Aos with the plains of Assam. As the Ao people were dependant on agriculture, and tools and implements being of imperative need for cultivation, smiths like daos, axe, hoes, sickles, scraper were made by them. Various figures that were carved out of the wood were mithun-head signifying wealth, hornbill representing valvour, human figure denoting success in head-hunting, and tiger signifying physical prowess. These figures were carved out on the long wooden trunks or thick planks and were seen in the village gate, in the morung or in front of the house of a rich man or warrior.

(e) Bamboo and Cane works – The making of baskets and mats at which all Aos were expert, was a task reserved exclusively for men and boys. Baskets of different sizes and shapes with various designs were made for household uses, such as carrying paddy, firewood, water containers, etc. Cane crafts with engraved figurines on bowls, mugs etc. and studded with black painting were also made.

Thus one can say from the above discussion that the villages were full of activities for both agriculture and traditional crafts and manufactures.

It was during the late nineteenth century that Christianity penetrated into the Ao Naga Hills. It was through the Aos that

Christianity was first brought inside the Naga Hills. Formerly, they used to live a primitive life. The first Christian missionary to this area was Godhula Babu, an Assamese. Later in 1876, Rev. E. W. Clark, a western Christian missionary came to this area. It was only through these missionaries the formal education was introduced among the Aos in 1878.

The present study proposes a standard classification of occupation prepared with the object of distinguishing between occupations in terms of their social prestige.

1. Professional and high administrative: This category includes of Engineers, Doctors, Lawyers, Scientists, Professors, Readers, Lecturers, Principals and Directors and Officers-in-charge of the various institutions and offices.
2. Manegetial and Executive: This category includes, managers, executives, sub-divisional officers, section officers etc.
3. Inspectional, Supervisory and other non-manual (higher grade): This category includes, Inspectors, Supervisors, Cashiers, Accountants, Foreman, High School teachers, Instructors, Contractors, Stenographers etc.
4. Inspectional, Supervisory and other non-manual (lower grade): This category includes, Typist, Clerk, Police Constable, Time Keeper, Store Keeper, Work Assistants, Dobashi, Primary teachers etc.

5. Skilled: This category includes, Electricians, Mechanics, Operators, Technicians, Nurses, Pharmacist, Compounder, Cameraman, Fitters, Drivers, Painter, Lineman, Motor winders, Draftsman, Tracers, Mohorir, Laboratorian, Librarian, etc.
6. Semi-Skilled and Unskilled: This category includes, carpenters, masons, tailors, cooks, helpers, watchmen, security guards, labour, attendant, peon, chowkidar, conductor, postman, sweeper, fireman, baker, jugali, Angahwadi workers.
7. Farming: This category includes different kinds of farming besides agriculture, such as, dairy, poultry, piggery. It also includes, bee-keeping, fishery, silk-rearing, tea gardening, vegetable farming, fruits farming.
8. Other occupations: This particular category includes different kinds of NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) workers, such as Church workers, social workers, politicians, proprietors, private school and college teachers. This category also includes different kinds of business owners such as, mills, cable network, xerox machine, printing press, bakery, clinics, PCO (telephone), workshop, vehicles, shop, hotel, beauty parlour. There are some of them who are engaged in clothes business, flower, fish business, charcoal business, meat business, chicken business, vegetable business, furniture business, kerosene business, log business. Some of them are also engaged as tool maker, radio, watch and TV repairer, jewellery maker, cycle and motor repairer etc.

Formerly the Ao people could not carry on trade for fear of enemy as head-hunting was prevalent in those days. Besides, their household economy was self-contained, and the food grains produced largely consumed at home. However, it may be mentioned that the people were not totally isolated from trade activity with the plains people. They exchanged their surplus produce or purchased commodities for their requirements and it was transacted mainly on barter system. Their produce such as cotton, ginger, chilli, pan leave etc., was bartered for salt, dried fish, blanket, tools and implements etc. The economic condition of the people were more or less self-sufficiency. There was no need for modern articles and the living was inexpensive. They live in villages and lead a simple and poor life. They live in the thatch houses and used to dress in simple traditional loin cloth.

**Table I: Age Range of Respondents**

Age Range (in Years)	Number	Percentage
21-30	25	4.17
31-40	143	23.83
41-50	168	28.00
51-60	229	38.17
60+	35	5.83
Total	600	100

Age is another factor that influences the mobility rate. Most of the respondents are still young enough to achieve a final position in their occupational career. Many of them still occupy the first occupational positions and others have changed two or three positions in general.

The age range of the respondents varies between 23 and 62 years. From the above Table I, it is shown that there are 4.17% of the respondents fall in the age group of 21-30 years, 23.83% in the age group of 31-40 years, 28% in the age group of 41-50 years, 38.17% in the age group of 51-60 years and 5.83% in the age group of 60 years and above.

From the calculated data in Table I, it is seen that, maximum percentage of the respondents falls in the age group of 51-60 years followed by in the age group of 41-50 years. The minimum percentage falls in the age group of 21-30 years followed by in the age group of 60 years and above.

**Table 2: Place of Birth of the Respondents**

Place of birth	Number	Percentage
Rural (Range-wise)		
1. Ongpangkong	183	30.50
2. Asetkong	68	11.33
3. Changkikong	92	15.33
4. Japukong	25	4.17
5. Langpangkong	18	3.00
6. Tsurangkong	21	3.50
Urban (District-wise)		
1. Mokokchung	178	29.67
2. Kohima	2	0.33
3. Dimapur	6	1.00
4. Tuensang	4	0.67
5. Mon	1	0.17
6. Wokha	2	0.33
7. Zunheboto	-	-
8. Phek	-	-
Total	600	100

For the present study, the respondents are classified into two different groups basing on their place of birth, rural, urban. From the rural born respondents, it may be further classified into six different sub groups basing on the six administrative ranges of the Ao tribe. The six different ranges are Ongpangkong, Asetkong, Changkikong, Japukong, Langpangkong and Tsürangkong. The respondents who are born in urban are also further classified into eight different sub groups basing on the state districts. They are Mokokchung, Kohima, Dimapur, Tuensang, Mon, Wokha, Zunheboto and Phek.

From Table 2, it is shown that there are 407 (67.83%) of the respondents were rural born. Of this, 30.50% of them were born in Ongpangkong, 11.33% of them were born in Asetkong, 15.33% of them were born in Changkikong and 4.17% of the respondents were born in Japukong. There were 3.00% of the respondents born in Langpangkong and 3.50% of them were born in Tsurangkong range.

There are 193 (32.17%) respondents, out of 600 sample size were born in urban area. Of this, 29.67% of them were born in Mokokchung, 0.33% in Kohima, 1.00% in Dimapur and 0.67% were born in Tuensang district. There are 0.17% of the respondents born in Mon and 0.33% of them in Wokha district.

Thus, from table 2, it is shown that majority (67.83%) of the respondents are village born people comparing to the town born people which is only (32.17%).

**Table 3: Marital Status of the Respondents**

Marital Status	Number	Percentage
Unmarried	76	12.67
Married	474	79.00
Widows	31	5.17
Widowers	7	1.17
Divorcees	12	2.00
Total	600	100

From table 3, it is shown that there are 12.67% of respondents were unmarried and 79.00% of them were married. There are 5.17% of the respondents were widows, 1.17% of them were widowers and 2.00% of the respondents were divorcees.

Thus, it is shown from the calculated data that majority (79.00%) of the respondents were married and the lowest percentage (1.17%) was found in widowers group.

**Table 4: Educational Attainment of the Respondents**

Education	Number	Percentage
No Schooling	14	2.33
Class A-6	39	6.50
Class 7-10	99	16.50
Matriculate	111	18.50
Graduate	156	26.00
Postgraduate	43	7.17
Doctorate	9	1.5
Technical	129	21.5
Total	600	100

From Table 4, it is shown that there are 2.33% of the respondents fall in the no schooling level, 6.5% of them studied up to Class A-6,

16.5% up to Class 7-10, 18.5% up to matriculate, 26% up to graduate, 7.17% have postgraduate level. There are 1.5% of the respondents studied up to Doctorate and 21.5% have studied different technical courses.

Thus, it is clearly seen that, majority (26%) of them are from graduate level of education which shows that it is very encouraging because few of them were able to attain even the Ph.D. degrees (1.5%).

**Table 5: Present Occupation of the Respondents**

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Professional and High Administrative	10	1.67
Managerial and Executive	98	16.73
Inspectional, Supervisory and other Non-Manual (Higher)	112	18.67
Inspectional, Supervisory and other Non-Manual (Lower)	87	14.50
Skilled	93	15.50
Semi and Unskilled	56	9.33
Farming	40	6.67
Other Occupations	104	17.33
Total	600	100

From table 5, it is shown that there are 1.67% of the respondents engaged in various professional and administrative type of jobs, 16.33% are in managerial and executive type of jobs, 18.67% in inspectional, supervisory and non-manual higher grade type of jobs, 14.5% of them engaged in the same field but comparatively lower positions. There are 15.5% of the respondents engaged in skilled type of jobs, 9.33% are engaged in semi and unskilled type of works and 6.67% are engaged in different types of farming. There are 17.33% of the respondents are

engaged in different types of business and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations).

Thus, it is clearly seen from the calculated data that maximum (18.67%) percentage was placed in the inspectional, supervisory and non-manual (Higher) type of occupations followed by other types of occupations which is (17.33%). Due to the decline in employment opportunities in the State, many of them diverted to independent type of occupations.

Different occupational positions gives different earnings. A person engaged in higher level occupation is expected to draw more salary than those engaged in lower levels. To analyse the income levels of the respondents is also necessary which is generally related to their occupational affiliations.

**Table 6: Present Income of the Respondents**

Income per month (in Rs.)	Number	Percentage
Below 5,000	117	19.50
5,001 – 10,000	255	42.50
10,001 – 15,000	143	23.83
15,001 and above	85	14.17
Total	600	100

From table 6, it is shown that there are 19.5% of the respondents whose monthly income is below 5,000, 42.5% of them earn 5,001 and above, 23.83% of them earn 10,001 and above and 14.17% of the respondents earn 15,001 and above.

Thus, it is seen that, majority of them (42.50%) earn 5001 and above. Only (14.17%) of the respondents earn 15,001 and above. Sometimes those who are engaged in different kinds of business and farming, their monthly income is much more better than the salaried jobs.

The next approach will analyze the class positions of the respondents as it is also related and helpful in determining the occupational positions. From the monthly income of the respondents, it may be further classified into three different economic classes, upper, middle and lower class. The respondents who earn 15,001 above are placed in the upper class, those who earn 5,001 to 15,000 are placed in the middle class and the respondents who earn below 5,000 have been placed in the lower class position.

Thus, it is seen that, majority (66.33%) of the respondents are placed in the middle class positions. Thus, from the calculated data, it is generally observed that the income level and class positions of the six hundred respondents is not very high but falls in the medium level.

**Table 7: Economic Class Positions of the Respondents**

Class positions (Monthly income in Rs.)	Number	Percentage
Upper (15,001 above)	85	14.17
Middle (5,001 – 15,000)	398	66.33
Lower (Below 5,000)	117	19.50
Total	600	100

From Table 7, it is shown that there are 14.17% of the respondents placed in the Upper Class positions, 66.33% of them are

placed in the Middle Class and 19.5% of the respondents are placed in the Lower Class positions.

### **Conclusion**

Thus from the various socio-economic characteristics of the respondents that have been recorded here it can be seen that a widespread transformation has taken place after the coming of British administration and Christianity among the Aos. In regard to the place of birth of the respondents, majority (67.83%) are village born which indicates that people are migrating to the town from rural areas. The migration of the rural poor to the town for formal education, employment and business have been remarkably noticed in the life of the Ao people. The main factors of traditional socio-economic changes that took place in the Ao society was the introduction of British administration and spread of Christianity and education by Christian missionaries in the district during the later part of the nineteenth century. It was further more affected by the launching of developmental programmes during the post-independence period. Thus changes have occurred among the Ao society in various aspects of life.

In the past generation, majority of the Ao people were solely depended on agriculture for their livelihood. There was no other means to adopt for their sustenance. Therefore, one has to devote most of his time and energy on agricultural activities throughout the years. Service under government had little attraction for him. Even if he took a job he often throws it up after a year or two and said he would rather go back to his native village and cultivate his land. This shows how much these

people have keen interest in agricultural activities rather than government services. Before every family had to put in all efforts towards agricultural activities as it was their main sustenance. The larger a plot of land a family is able to cultivate the more prosperous rich that family be. The result of this was that few people could be spared for some other works other than agriculture. Even if a person did engage himself in any other work be considered it as a subsidiary occupation. But now things have changed.

It may be mentioned here that, quite a good number of Ao people staying in towns and cities have changed their occupations. Yet the majority of the rural people are still lived and engaged themselves in agricultural activities.

Almost in every household in the villages and towns, weaving is still carried on. Weaving has also been modernized in the hand of professional weavers who produce, skirts, bags, neckties, etc., with modern designs. Before they used to cultivate cotton and make yarn from it and dye it, but now-a-days they purchase silt-made coloured yarn from shops. But still now to some extent they dye their own yarn. Though the mill-made fabrics and modern dress have attained popularity, yet weaving is still the main off-time occupation of the Ao women. Every woman is expected to know weaving and they produce shawls, skirts and other kinds of clothes at least for the basic needs of the family if not for commercial purpose.

Pottery is also still in vogue in some villages. It is observed that aluminium and steel pots have replaced the use of earthen pots but still

then the locally made earthen wares are somehow used side by side, for the fact that the people find a better taste of food cooked in earthen pot.

Basket making and wood carving is still common even in the towns and it is made for household uses and for sale. Baskets of different sizes and shapes are made and serves as container of household goods, vegetables or foodstuffs etc. With using all the latest tools and techniques, people do the carving for their own use and for sale. Thus it may be observed that the Ao people were not totally isolated from traditional occupations but still practice to some extent.

Due to rapid urbanization and improved channels of transportation and communication, people from the rural areas emigrate to the towns in search of employment and other occupations. It has been noticed that due to rapid modernization, an urban consciousness has developed among the Aos as a result of which people are migrating to the towns, deviating from their parental occupations. They experiences a total shift from the rural traditional occupational structure (consisting of agriculture and other traditional crafts and manufactures to that of the modern type of occupations such as government services, contract works, business etc. The examination of the occupational changes among the respondents reveal that at present none of the members of the 600 respondents engaged in traditional occupation as their primary occupation. The main reason of such deviation as the Aos say is "unprofitable and old method of occupation". Occupational mobility in rural areas has been greatly influenced by urbanization. The more the village community is affected by urbanization the greater is the

occupational diversification and migration. The attitude changes towards the traditional occupational structure, however, as a result from both external and internal. The increase in opportunity getting services within the town is also attracting them.

In Ao society, unlike in the traditional Indian caste society, the occupational status of an individual is not ascribed merely by birth or heredity but is also achieved by hard work, education and training.

From the recorded data of the present respondents, it is seen that, majority (26%) of them have attained graduate level of education. The lowest percentage (1.5%) have been recorded in the Doctorate level, which is a recent trend of educational attainment among the Aos. It has been observed that, only last ten years back, the pattern of Doctorate level of educational attainment have been familiar, which was totally nil or negligible. It may be observed that, not a single respondent showed his desire to bring the children in traditional occupation. All of them are sending their children to schools for getting primary education or at least matriculate which they think is sufficient qualification for getting a job of a peon or watchman or likes.

During the nineteenth century when most of the present professions were in the process of rise and growth, they did not require so much specialization and training, but these days there is a definite indication that one after the other, different occupations are being transformed into professions demanding skill and standard. Thus education has transferred certain occupations into professions which require special training, a prescribed educational standard and skill.

More and more people from rural areas are able to move to urban areas and thus they are able to realize the value of education and achieved better occupational positions.

Formerly there was no unemployment problem at all because there was less educated people and even those educated ones did not hesitate to go back to the village for cultivation. But now-a-days, due to the swift acculturation the educated youths, even the school-left-outs are unwilling to go back to rural areas and take up cultivation, even on modern pattern of mechanized farming, or such other profession. So the problem of unemployment of educated youth is being felt gradually. It may be observed that, even an educationally qualified one also deprive due to the existent of unemployment problem in the society. Thus the process of urbanization, migration and increased educational opportunities encourage individuals to specialize in various technical fields. It has been observed that in modern days, education plays an important role in the occupational structure, as the educational qualifications have become a prerequisite in the attainment of occupational positions of the present day modern occupational structure, finally resulting in the deviation from traditional occupations to secular occupations.

In regard to the present respondents of occupational positions, it is seen that, majority (18.67%) of them are engaged in Inspectional, Supervisory, other non-manual (high grade). From the calculated data it may be observed that many of them diverted to independent type of occupations, such as, shop-keeping, hotel and workshop running,

farming such as, dairy, poultry, piggery etc. The reason behind of such deviation is due to unemployment problem in the state as well as individuals' interests.

With the coming of the colonial agencies such as modern education, Christianity and the development of the district, employment avenues also increased significantly. The educated AOs were readily employed as pastors, school teachers and as assistants of the colonial administration. However, people were mainly engaged in agriculture which was not only their mainstay but also their primary occupation. There are many people who have entered into government service or contract works, business, supply works, etc. These people live a better life than the cultivators. Such change have improved the standard of living and life style of the people.

It was only after coming of the British administration more money was put into circulation and the old barter system ceased to prevail. With the change of living pattern the need of money circulation become greater. It is seen that, majority (42.5%) of the respondents, falls in the category of medium earning. From the calculated data, it may be observed that, sometimes, those who are engaged in different kinds of business and farming, their monthly income is much more better than the government salaried jobs.

Employment opportunities, increased in the government services, contract, supply works etc., and all these brought in money in unprecedented amounts. Educated people entered government services and well-to-do people have given up cultivation in favour of business.

Such tertiary activities have brought in easy money to the people and that in turn changed the standard of living of many people.

In the past, these people used to dress in simple traditional loin cloth and live in thatch. But now-a-days due to the advent of civilization there is an overall change in everything as a result of which even the cultivators now wear shorts, skirts, shoes, etc. Improvement of building materials and patterns, food patterns, kitchen articles and other complement goods are another result of introduction of various development opportunities in the district. Many of these people who have high income in government service and business are well off and they can afford a car or more of their own, television, cell phone, washing machine, refrigerator, fan, etc. Most of these people have got a house or two or even more in their village, in their home town or Dimapur. Majority (66.33%) of the respondents are placed in the middle class positions according to the calculated data. Thus income level and class positions of them is not very high but falls in the medium level. One of the major changes that the new system of education introduced was a gradual disassociation of occupation from traditional patterns, while occupations in the traditional system were rated in terms of land owning, rice lending, feasts of merit making, etc., they are today rated to some extent in terms of income they produce.

Thus one can say that the life of the Ao people has been tremendously affected in various aspects as a result of the introduction of western cultural elements such as Christianity, education, etc. being introduced by the British colonizers and more so after the post-

independence period with more developmental opportunities in various fields.

## CHAPTER IV

### INTER AND INTRA-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

#### **Introduction**

This chapter mainly deals with the inter and intra-generational occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung Town. Analyses will be done at two different levels: (i) It will examine the extent to which the Aos have moved away from their parental occupations and it will study at four levels i.e., (Grandfathers, fathers, respondents and their children). (ii) It will examine by measuring changes in the status of an individual respondent in his lifetime. This may occur in two different directions, both horizontally and vertically.

Hall (1969:265-266) states that, "Mobility is an important consideration in the nature of social systems as a whole, as in comparisons of caste and open class systems, and an important consideration for the analysis of occupation. The analysis of mobility in empirical research is increasingly and almost exclusively based on data about occupations. Mobility is usually approached from a number of dimensions. One such dimension is the time phase of mobility. Here inter-generational mobility can be distinguished from intra-generational mobility though the two forms can exist simultaneously for individuals and collectivities. A second dimension of mobility involves its direction. Three separate but often related directional axes can be identified. The most commonly analyzed is vertical mobility, movement up or down within the stratification system. A second axis is a change in social

function that does not involve a change in status, or horizontal mobility. The third axis is spatial mobility, change in the location of the occupation, while each of the axes is analytically distinct, they are frequently related in reality. Each also plays an important role in inter-generational and intra-generational mobility.”

Thus social mobility has a number of dimensions, the time phase of mobility which includes both inter-generational and intra-generational mobility. Another dimension refers to its direction which includes vertical, horizontal and spatial directions of mobility. By horizontal mobility deals the transition of an individual from one social group to another situated on the same level. In other words, the transition of an individual from one citizenship to another, from one family to another, from one department to another in the same occupational status. By vertical mobility deals with the relations involved in a transition of an individual from one social stratum to another. There are two types of vertical mobility, upward and downward. Inter-generational trends form an important part in the process of the going up and coming down of individuals in various occupations.

Dutta (1991: 2) describes that, “Mobility as a social phenomenon is the result of multiple factors. Changes in the system of transportation and communication due to the basic requirements of industrial development and growth, increasing rate of population and above all, industrialization along with urbanization – all these result in either vertical or horizontal or spatial mobility in modern society.”

Dunkerley (1975: 27-28) describes vertical and horizontal mobility as “vertical mobility is as the name implies movement (upward or downward) through a status or prestige system. The most obvious kind of vertical mobility occurs when there is a change in social rank. Obviously this kind of mobility can be both upward and downward. Vertical mobility also refers to the situation where an individual is promoted or demoted within the occupation he is pursuing. Third, vertical mobility occurs even when the individual does not change either his occupation or his level within an occupation. More status may accrue to an individual merely because of seniority in a particular occupational position, seniority which arises from length of time in a particular position. This involves a change of status. Horizontal mobility occurs when there is a change in occupation or job within an occupation that does not entail a change in status. As with vertical mobility there are specific kinds of horizontal mobility. In the first place there may simply be a change of job, but within the same occupation. A manager may move from production to sales or a doctor from hospital work to general practice. In these cases mobility takes place, but there is the possibility that no change in status is involved ”

As the present study has to trace out the inter-generational occupational mobility, it will attempt if the occupational position of an individual is influenced by that of his father, particularly in Indian society where occupational positions are sometimes inherited through ascription. Sarkar (1984: 1) states that. “Caste system in India is generally related to the occupational pattern of different population groups. A caste or a group of allied castes generally consider some of the callings as this

hereditary occupations and there is a common notion that these occupations are sanctioned by the Hindu scriptures and to give up one in pursuit of another is considered not proper. But if we look back to the ancient India we find that in the Vedic period such restrictions were not existing." The said approach will help in understanding the pattern of mobility as to whether the individuals have moved horizontally, vertically (up and down) from their parents' occupations and the traditional caste occupations. Ghurye (1961: 241) describes that, "the unfreedom of occupation in actual operation at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was accompanied by a staunch belief that almost everyone of the large number of caste had an occupation which was its own, its traditional and hence the hereditary occupation of its members, to abandon which in search of another was at least, not proper, if not actually sinful." The present study deals with the Aos occupational mobility, where Aos are caste free occupations. Sarkar (1984) also states regarding the caste bound and caste free occupations as "by caste bound occupation, an occupation in which a group of people are engaged considering it as occupation sanctioned by the Hindu scriptures. On the other hand, with the caste free occupations no such notion is attached." Since occupation is the most important single criterion of status, a single status scale consisting of eight occupational positions is used to compare the status in the four generations under consideration.

Intra-generational mobility deals with the changes in the status of an individual respondent in his life time. An individual's status is equated with that of his father in order to trace changes in achieved status throughout his active life. Since it was difficult to get intra-generational

occupational changes among grandfathers and fathers. Only the last occupational positions have been compared with those of the respondents occupational positions as ascertained at the time of interview. As society is an expanding one, there are increased status opportunities for all or independent of changes in the overall occupational structure of the community. But for the present study, for an individual what more important to him is what is getting on for him, as compared with his father. It is less important to him that his higher status is due to a general increase in the proportion of white collar jobs in the community. Eight categories included in the classification of occupations may be divided into manual and non-manual occupation.

Information regarding each change during an individual working life were asked. The main occupations held at certain specified periods of life were collected and arranged into status categories. From this, it could be possible to about the extent to which children occupied the same status categories as their fathers. The study of social mobility should begin at the birth of an individual, at which their status could be equated with that of their father and then follow the successive changes in the achieved status of those individuals throughout their lives. The mobility rate should be measured as an association between the final status categories of the respondent and his father.

Dunkerley (1975: 46) suggests that "Occupational status is obviously important to the membership of any occupation. Not only does it comprise a reward, it also presents a goal for the individual. This is consistent with the strong societal norm of achievement. We have already

seen that occupational status is a powerful motivator when it comes to individual career mobility, it has obvious effects on individual aspirations and the general motivation to work." Occupational mobility of inter and intra-generational in general can be traced by tracing the interdependence between one's social background, the father's education and occupation on the one hand and one's own training and early experience that prepare him for his subsequent career, that is his education and first job, on the other. Dunkerley (1975: 44-45) while describing about occupational status and prestige further states that, "the individual income and the level of educational attainment are the two individual characteristics that co-related with the status afforded an occupation. This is not surprising since both of them are contributors to occupational status in that educational attainment is often the main criterion for admission to an occupation, and of course income, for the majority of the population, is derived from their occupation any way." Hall (1969: 269) also states that "Inter-generational and intra-generational mobility are interrelated. If a person moves up or down from his social origins, he is exhibiting both kinds of mobility. An important distinction, necessary here, is the idea of the first job. An individual, through education for example, may achieve a relatively high level first job, after which he exhibits little upward movement. This would be an example of inter-generational mobility without intra-generational mobility. The son of an army officer who achieves the same rank in his own life time would exhibit intra-generational mobility without the inter-generational form. In most cases, the inter-relatedness of the two forms exists." Thus a man's career is adversely affected by his father's education and occupation, though, not entirely. A man's social origin exerts a great deal of influence

on his occupational career, however, his own training and early (work) experience exert a more pronounced influence of his success chances. In regard to inter-generational mobility. Blau and Duncan (1967: 402) states that, "in as much as social origins, education, and career origins are not independent, however, their influence on ultimate occupational achievements is not cumulative."

In the present study, while studying inter-generational occupational mobility, the transmission of occupational status should be observed. Owing to industrialization and urbanization, the present day society is not rigid with regard to the transmission of occupational status. It should be observed whether the transmission of occupational status is equal in all occupational groups or whether it fluctuates from group to group. It will also observe whether transmission of occupations from fathers to children have been increasing or decreasing during the last few generations. With the spread of education, modernization and acute unemployment problem, such values have been totally changed. A modernization is a process of change, from the traditional to certain desired types of technology and associated forms of social structure have been coming up. Within the same society, there may be groups in which the inheritance of occupation is less while within other groups it increases. Sorokin (1959:139-160) while discussing the general principles of the vertical dimension of mobility points out that, in the field of vertical social mobility, there seems to be no definite, perpetual trend towards either an increase or a decrease of intensive and generality of mobility.

**Table 8: Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility in Four Generations**

Occupations	Generations							
	Grandfather		Father		Respondent		Children	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional & Administrative			3	0.5	10	1.67	17	13.70
Managerial & Executive			46	7.67	98	16.33	8	6.45
Inspt. Sup. (Higher Grade)			136	22.67	112	18.67	27	21.77
Inspt. Sup. (Lower Grade)	9	1.5	98	16.33	87	14.5	11	8.87
Skilled			53	8.83	93	15.5	12	9.67
Semi & Unskilled	3	0.5	60	10	56	9.33	11	8.87
Farming	553	92.17	112	18.67	40	6.67	6	4.83
Other Occupations	35	5.83	92	15.33	104	17.33	32	25.80
Total	600	100	600	100	600	100	124	99.96

From Table 8, it is shown that out of 600 respondents, none of the grandfathers were engaged in professional and administrative, managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory, non-manual higher and skilled type of occupations. There were 9 (1.50%) of the grandfathers engaged in inspectional, supervisory, non-manual lower type of jobs as teacher, clerk and police. There were 3 (0.50%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of job was security guards and carpentry. The majority of the grandfathers 553 (92.17%) were engaged in farming. During that time agriculture was the main source of livelihood. There were 35 (5.83%) of the grandfathers engaged in other types of occupations as pastor, missionary and gaonbura.

At the second generation level, out of the 600 respondents fathers, there were 3 (0.50%) of them engaged in professional, and highly administrative type of occupations as doctor and officer-in-charge of the

various offices. There were 46 (7.67%) of the fathers engaged in managerial and executive type of occupations, as Sub-Divisional Officer, Section Officer, Head Assistant etc. There were 136 (22.67%) of them engaged in inspectional, supervisory, and other non-manual higher type of occupation as Inspector, Cashier, Supervisor, Accountant and graduate teacher. There were 98 (16.33%) of them engaged in similar type of lower grade occupations as, Store keeper, police constable, typist, etc. There were 53 (8.83%) of the fathers engaged in skilled type of works, engaged in certain technical jobs as electrician, mechanic, operator, fitter, driver, etc. There were 60 (10.00%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of works as, labour, attendant, cooks, carpenter, sweeper, security guards, chowkidar, peon, etc. There were 112 (15.33%) of them engaged in farming. Some of them 92 (15.33%) were engaged in other type of occupation as pastor, gaonbura, village guard, contractor etc.

After comparing the occupations between grandfathers and fathers of the first two generations, next attempt will be made to compare the fathers occupational affiliations with those of the respondents in order to measure the rate of occupational mobility at the second and third generation levels.

From the data incorporated in Table 8, it is shown that, there were 10 (1.67%) of the respondents as against 3 (0.50%) of the fathers engaged in various professional type of occupation as engineers, lawyers, doctors, lecturer, and directors of various institutions and offices. In the second category of occupations, there were 98 (16.33%) of the respondents against only 46 (7.67%) of the fathers, working in

managerial or executive position. In the third category of occupation there were only 112 (18.67%) of the respondents found engaged in as against 136 (22.67%). In the fourth category of occupation also there were only 87 (14.5%) of the respondents found engaged as against 98 (16.33%) of the fathers. In the fifth category of the classification, there were 93 (15.5%) of the respondents as against 53 (8.83%) of the fathers, working in skilled jobs. In the sixth and seventh type of occupations there was lesser percentage found engaged in as against of the fathers. Finally, there were 104 (17.33%) of the respondents as against 92 (15.33%) of the fathers who were engaged in various types of business, church worker, social worker etc.

Since the present study is mainly concerned with occupational mobility among the AOs, only the employed children were included. Out of 600 respondents, there were only 124 of the children got employed, the other children are still school going children and unemployed one.

From Table 8, it is clearly shown that, out of 124 working children, there were 17 (13.70%) of them engaged in professional and administrative type of occupation. There were 8 (6.45%) of them engaged in managerial and executive type of occupation, there were 27 (21.77%) of the sons engaged in inspectional, supervisory, non-manual higher grade type of occupation. There were 11 (8.87%) of them engaged in a comparatively lower type of occupation. There were 12 (9.67%) of the sons engaged in skilled type of occupation, 11 (8.87%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupation. There were 6 (4.83%) of the sons engaged in different kinds of farming besides cultivation.

There were 32 (25.80%) of the sons engaged in different kinds of other occupations as NGOs worker, private teacher, contractor etc.

After analyzing the occupational mobility of four generations, next attempt will be made to determine the direction of mobility in four generations basing on the two types of mobility, horizontal and vertical movement. To study the movement from parental occupations, the occupational background of the grandfathers will be treated as the point of reference for the fathers occupational movement. Similarly, the movement in the case of the respondents children movement from the respondent's occupational background.

From the data of the first generation level, it is shown that there were 556 (92.67%) of the grandfathers engaged in manual occupations including their traditional occupation (agriculture), out of these, only 3 (0.50%) of them were engaged as carpentry and security guard. There were 35 (5.83%) of them engaged in other occupations as pastor, missionary and gaonbura. Some of them 9 (1.50%) have taken up non-manual type of occupations as teacher, police constable and clerk.

From the second generation level, 225 (37.50%) of the fathers were engaged in manual occupations as skilled, semi and unskilled and farming. There were 283 (47.17%) of the fathers engaged in non-manual occupations as doctors, lawyers, teachers, inspector, manager, etc. There were 92 (15.33%) of the fathers engaged in various types of business and work as pastor, missionary and gaonbura.

From the third generation level, it is seen that there were 189 (31.5%) of the respondents engaged in manual occupations. There were 307 (51.17%) of them engaged in non-manual occupations and 104 (17.33%) of the respondents engaged in other types of occupations as businessmen, private school and college teacher, social worker etc.

In the case of children, there were 63 (50.80%) of them engaged in non-manual occupations as doctor, engineer, lawyer, inspector, sub-divisional officer, supervisor, teacher etc. There were 29 (23.38%) of the sons engaged in manual type of occupations and 32 (25.80%) of them engaged in different types of other occupations as social worker, church workers, contractor and businessmen.

For the purpose of the analysis of horizontal and vertical occupational mobility, all the 600 respondents who have moved into occupations on a par with farming into other skilled occupations will be treated as horizontal mobility from their parental occupations. Those who have moved into non-manual types of occupations will be treated as vertical mobility in the upward direction. And all those who have moved into semi and unskilled occupations which are lower to skilled (considered as parental occupations) will be treated as vertically downward direction.

**Table 9: Horizontal and Vertical Mobility Among the Four Generations**

Type of Placement	Generation							
	Grandfather's Occupation		Fathers's Occupation		Respondent's Occupation		Children's Occupation	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Horizontal	553	92.17	165	27.50	133	22.17	18	14.51
Vertical (Upward)	44	7.33	375	62.50	411	68.50	95	76.61
(Downward)	3	0.50	60	10.00	56	9.33	11	8.87
Total	600	100	600	100	600	100	124	99.99

From Table 9, it is shown that, there were 553 (92.17%) of the grandfathers engaged in farming. There were 44 (7.33%) of them who had moved into non-manual and other types of occupations. There were 3 (0.5%) of the grandfathers engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations.

At the second generation level, among the fathers, 165 (27.5%) have moved in the horizontal direction, 375 (62.50%) have moved vertically in the upward direction from their parental occupations and only 60 (10.00%) of them have taken up the lower type of occupations.

At the third generation level, among the respondents, 133 (22.17%) have moved in the horizontal direction, 411 (68.50%) have moved vertically in the upward direction and 56 (9.33%) of them have moved in the downward direction.

Finally, at the fourth generation level, that is among the children, there were 18 (14.51%) have moved in the horizontal direction, 95 (76.61%) have moved vertically in the upward direction and 11 (8.87%) of them have moved vertically in the downward direction.

For the purpose of the analysis of intra-generational occupational mobility among the respondents, first the total number of changes (up to the present position) in the occupational positions of the respondents during their period of employment will be taken into consideration. Respondents who did not experience any occupational change (cases of first job) will also be taken into account.

**Table 10: Intra-Generational Occupational Changes within Each Occupational Category**

Occupation	No change (1 <sup>st</sup> job)	One change (2 <sup>nd</sup> job)	Two changes (3 <sup>rd</sup> job)	Three changes (4 <sup>th</sup> job)	More than three changes 4 <sup>th</sup> , 5 <sup>th</sup> )	Total
Prof. & Admn.	2 (0.33)	2 (0.33)		3 (0.50)	3 (0.50)	10 (1.67)
Managerial & Executive	44 (7.33)	21 (3.50)	16 (2.67)	5 (0.83)	12 (2)	98 (16.33)
Insp. Sup. (Higher)	46 (7.67)	34 (5.67)	23 (3.83)	9 (1.50)		112 (18.67)
Insp. Sup. (Lower)	72 (12)	13 (2.17)	2 (0.33)			87 (14.50)
Skilled	31 (5.17)	15 (2.50)	37 (6.17)	9 (1.50)	1 (0.17)	93 (15.50)
Semi & Unskilled	25 (4.17)	19 (3.17)	12 (2)			56 (9.33)
Farming	33 (5.50)		7 (1.17)			40 (6.67)
Other Occupations	52 (8.67)	34 (5.67)	18 (3)			104 (17.33)
Total	305 (50.83)	138 (23)	115 (19.17)	26 (4.33)	16 (2.67)	600 (100)

From Table 10, it is shown that, there were 305 (50.83%) of the respondents who have not so far changed their occupational positions, 138 (23%) of them have experience only one change in their occupational position. There were 115 (19.17%) of them changed two positions. There were 26 (4.33%) of them have experienced three

positions and there were 16 (2.67%) of the respondents have so far changed more than three occupational positions.

It is shown in the table that, there were 10 (1.67%) of the respondents engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations, 2 (0.33%) of them have not changed their occupational positions (first job), again 2 (0.33%) of them have changed one occupational position. There were 3 (0.50%) of the respondents who have experienced three positions and 3 (0.50%) of them have experienced more than three changes in their occupational positions.

Among the respondents 98 (16.33%) engaged in managerial and executive type of occupations, 44 (7.33%) have not changed their occupational positions, 21 (3.5%) have experienced one change, 16 (2.67%) have experienced two changes, 5 (0.83%) have changed three positions and 12 (2%) of them have changed more than three positions.

Among the respondents 112 (18.67%) engaged in inspectional, supervisory and non-manual higher grade jobs, 46 (7.67%) have not changed their occupational position so far, 34 (5.67%) of them have changed one position, 23 (3.83%) have changed two positions and 9 (1.50%) have experienced three changes.

Among 87 (14.50%) respondents engaged in lower type of inspectional and supervisory non-manual occupations, 72 (12%) of them have not changed their occupational positions, 13 (2.17%) of them have changed one position and 2 (0.33%) have changed two positions.

Among the respondents 93 (15.50%) engaged in skilled occupations, 31 (5.17%) have not changed their occupational position, 15 (2.50%) have changed one occupational position, 37 (6.17%) have experienced two changes, 9 (1.50%) have changed three positions and 1 (0.17%) have changed more than three positions.

Among 56 (9.33%) of the respondents engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupation, 25 (4.17%) of them have not changed their positions, 19 (3.17%) of them have experienced one change and 12 (2%) of the respondents have experienced two occupational changes.

Among the respondents 40 (6.67%) engaged in farming, 33 (5.50%) of them have not changed their occupational position and only 7 (1.17%) have experienced two changes in their occupational positions.

Finally, from the 104 (17.33%) of the respondents engaged in other types of occupations, 52 (8.67%) of them have not changed their positions, 34 (5.67%) of them have changed one position and 18 (3%) of them have changed two positions.

Next attempt will be made to observe the direction of mobility among 295 respondents who have experienced at least one change in their lifetime. To study whether the respondents could move horizontally, or vertically (in an upward or downward direction) a division prepared by Sunanda for the study of "Trends of Occupational Mobility Among Migrants" (1986: 59) has been used. The process of mobility has been studied in four different directions, (i) manual to manual, (ii) non-manual to non-manual to study horizontal mobility, (iii) manual to non-manual

(upward), and (iv) non-manual to manual (downward) to study vertical mobility.

**Table 11: Direction of Intra-Generational Occupational Mobility Among 295 Respondents.**

Horizontal 234 (79.32%)		Vertical 61 (20.67%)		Total
		Upward	Downward	
Manual- Manual	Non-Manual – Non-Manual	Manual – Non- Manual	Non-Manual – Manual	
61 (20.67)	173 (58.64)	39 (13.22)	22 (7.45)	295 (100)

From Table 11, it is shown that, there were 61 (20.67%) respondents out of 295 have moved in a horizontal direction from their previous occupations to that of their present occupational positions. The movement in these cases is from manual to manual types of occupations, they are skilled, semi and unskilled and farming types of occupations. There were 173 (58.64%) of the respondents who have experienced a horizontal shift from non-manual to non-manual types of occupations namely, professional and administrative, managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory and non-manual (both higher and lower grade) and other types of occupations. There were 39 (13.22%) respondents who have experienced a shift from manual to non-manual types of occupations in upward direction and 22 (7.45%) of them have experienced downward mobility, that they have moved from non-manual types of occupations to that of manual types.

### **Conclusion**

Thus the following analysis has been emerged from the tabulated data of the inter- and intra-generational occupational mobility among the AOs.

From Table 8, regarding the inter-generational occupational mobility in four generations, majority 553 (92.17%) of the grandfathers were engaged in agriculture (traditional occupation). It is seen that fathers have slowly moved into category 1, 2, 3 and 5 type of occupations which were totally absent or very less percentage in the grandfathers generation. A gradual increase in the percentage of mobility can also be observed from the respondents and children generation with respect to non-manual occupations.

When viewed the rate of shift from manual to non-manual occupations in all the four generations, it is seen that there were 556 (92.67%) of the grandfathers engaged in manual occupations (farming, skilled, semi and unskilled) and only 44 (7.33%) of them were engaged in non-manual occupations (professional and administrative, managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory and non-manual both higher and lower grade and other occupations). There were 225 (37.50%) of the fathers engaged in manual occupations and 375 (62.50%) of them were engaged in non-manual and other types of occupations. There were 189 (31.50%) of the respondents engaged in manual occupations, and 411 (68.50%) of them were engaged in non-manual and other occupations. In case of children, there were 29 (23.38%) of them engaged in manual occupations and 95 (76.61%) of the children were engaged in non-manual and other types of occupations.

From table 9, with regard to the horizontal and vertical mobility among the four generations, it may be observed that, the rate of upward mobility is high from one generation to another generation. In case of

grandfather, the rate of upward mobility is 44 (7.33%) and in case of father, the rate of upward mobility increased to 375 (62.50%) compared to grandfather generation. The increased of percentage has been noticed from the respondents generation which is 411 (68.50%) and the more percentage has been increased in children generation which is 95 (76.61%).

From Table 10, regarding the intra-generational occupational changes within each occupational category, it may be observed that the percentage of those who did not experience any occupational change is higher 305 (50.83%) than the respondents who have experienced one to three changes and even more 295 (49.17%).

From Table 11, with reference to the direction of intra-generational occupational mobility among the 295 mobile respondents, it is generally observed that there is more of a horizontal intra-generational mobility among the mobile respondents. Many of them 234 (79.32%) have moved to occupations that are on a par with their previous occupations.

In reference to intra-generational occupational mobility among the AOs, it is clearly seen from the analyzed data that the majority of grandfathers and fathers were engaged in agriculture. Since the two generations under consideration mostly born in rural areas and belong to rural agriculture-based societies, they had therefore naturally taken up agriculture as the major source of livelihood. Due to lack of education and exposure to urban societies they continued with the agriculture only which is treated as traditional occupations in the modern society. When observe clearly it is seen that there was a gradual but slow mobility from

traditional occupations to those of modern and secular occupations. The mobility rate has been also found to be gradually increasing from one generation to another generation when viewed from the four generation's occupations.

Due to rapid urbanization and improved channels of transportation and communication, people are migrating to the towns, deviating from their parental occupations. It may be observed that, from the second generation (father generation) they experienced a major shift from the rural traditional occupation (shifting cultivation) to that of the modern industrial one such as government services, contract works, business, etc. According to the Ao people such deviation has been found due to the low productivity in the old traditional pattern of agriculture. It is observed that the rate of shifting varies from occupation to occupation and from one group to another within the same occupational group. The people who are more qualified are mobile than the less qualified groups. Those who are engaged in unskilled labour are more mobile than who are engaged in skilled labour. It is also noticed among the Aos that occupations like business and farming and high professional groups are likely to be more stable than a group of skilled, semi and unskilled labourer. The rate of shifting is also likely to be more among young people who have recently entered an occupation who are still in the process of finding a suitable occupation than the older people who are already settled.

Among the different occupational categories, the hereditary transmission of occupation still exists in the Ao society and it is

considered as quite natural. Owing to modernization and urbanization, the present day society is not rigid with regard to the transmission of occupational status. The children, those who enter their father's occupations are likely to observe majority in the children of the professionals and successful businessmen. It may be observed that the transmission of occupations from fathers to children have been decreasing during the last few generations. The greater part of the population shifts from occupation to occupation gradually. Majority of the population shifts to other occupations than their parents' occupation only very less percentage enters their fathers' occupations. It has been noticed that the inheritance of occupation is less among the AOs. Such values have been totally changed, with the spread of education, modernization and acute unemployment problem in the society.

When viewing the rate of shift from manual to non-manual occupations in all the four generations, it is seen that the percentage of non-manual and other types of occupations are comparatively higher when compared to other manual jobs included in the categories. The data therefore shows that there is a marked degree of increase in the rate of shift from traditional to that of modern occupations.

In reference to the horizontal and vertical mobility among the four generations, it may be observed that the rate of upward mobility is high among the AOs. Thus it may be observed that in all the four generations, majority of them left their parental occupations and have moved vertically to higher level of occupations other than parental traditional occupations. Changes in the system of transportation and communication

due to the basic requirements of industrial development and growth, increasing rate of population along with urbanization all these result in either vertical or horizontal or spatial mobility in modern society.

Regarding the intra-generational occupational changes within each occupational category among the AOs, it may be observed that the percentage of those who did not experience any occupational change is comparatively higher 305 (50.83%) than the respondents who have experienced one to three changes and even more 295 (49.17%).

It may be also observed that the respondents engaged in professional and administrative type of occupation have been proved to be less mobile, as this category of occupation is the topmost group and most of the people at this stage got retired. Next category is farming, most of the respondents engaged in this category as dairy farmer, poultry farmer, vegetable farmer etc. Among the AOs, those who are engaged in managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory and non-manual both higher and lower grade and other occupations the mobility rate is comparatively high, because these people has always to struggle for higher occupational positions with a corresponding increase in the salary. Age is another factor that influences the mobility rate among the AOs, as most of the respondents are still young enough to reach a final position in their occupational career. Many of them still in the first job and others have only one or two positions in general. Thus the occupational status of the respondents in general have shown a general tendency, towards mobility.

With reference to the direction of intra-generational occupational mobility among the 295 respondents, it is generally observed that, majority 234 (79.32%) have moved to occupations that are on at par with their previous occupations.

## CHAPTER V

### IMPACT OF RELIGION ON OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

#### Introduction

This chapter deals with the impact of Christianity on the Ao culture in general and occupational mobility in particular. It will observe how the Ao social life has been undergoing a rapid transformation as a result of introduction of a new way of life by Christianity. It will also study the influence of the Christianity on individual, social, religious life and the resultant occupational mobility.

During the early part of nineteenth century some of the British colonial administrators such as T. C. Hudson (1911), J. H. Hutton (1921) and J. P. Mills (1926) made the first ethnographical account on the Naga society. Philip (1976:200) states that "Many anthropologists were shedding 'crocodile tears' over disrupting the age-old tribal way of life and its foundations. Probably they wanted to keep Nagaland as an anthropological 'museum'".

J. P. Mills studied the Ao Naga tribe and recorded their traditional way of life in origin as minutely as possible in 1926. In the *Mokokchung District Gazetteers*, Ghosh (1979) recorded the changes of occupational pattern of Aos from the traditional one to other modern industrial one is a significant transformation in the occupational culture among the Aos. Owing to the advent of modern education and Christianity such a tremendous change on occupation has taken place among the tribe. This account provides us the traditional way of life of

the Ao people the change has been taken place. A rapid change of culture among the Aos begins from the time when they had come into contact with the British and Missionaries in the earlier time and with the various development opportunities in the post-independence period at later stage.

Many scholars and British social anthropologists had already written about the changes that took place upon the life of the Aos from different angles and perspectives. All these writers admitted that these changes were brought by the coming of Christianity. These changes were to be noticed in every social life of the Aos. Thus the impact of Christianity on Ao culture is tremendous on individual, social and religious levels.

### **Christianity**

The word 'religion' derives from the teachings of Jesus Christ is called Christianity. St. Thomas, one of the disciples of Jesus, was believed to have come to India in 52 A.D. and established churches in the Malabar Coast in South India.

In the 16th century, Martin Luther, a German Monk, revolted against the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and he started the protestant movement in Europe. Gradually due to doctrinal and other differences, Christianity was split into more than fifty denominations, often contradictory to one another.

In India, religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Islam had been flourishing long before. Other countries like China, Tibet,

Japan, Burma and South-East Asian countries also came under the influence of Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism. But the primitive tribes in Assam province who professed Animism remained untouched by any of the major Indian religions.

### **Missionary contact with North Eastern part of India**

The nineteenth century witnessed an amazing growth of Christianity in Asia. The Khasi tribe in Assam had the privilege of being the first to hear the word of God in North East India. Philip (1973: 46) records that, "In 1812 the glorious message of salvation was brought to this people of Krishna Chandra Pal, an evangelist of William Carey, and the first fruit of Baptist missionary work in India. He was able to convert two Khasis".

### **Missionary contact with the Assam**

Assam became a part of the British dominion at the close of the Burman War in 1826. It was from a political officer that the idea of mission in Assam sprang up. Major Jenkins, Commissioner General of Assam was interested in missionary work among the people of Singpo and Khamti tribes in Upper Assam. He invited missionaries from Calcutta to work among the tribals of Assam. The Rev. Nathan Brown and O. T. Cutter were the first American Baptist missionaries to enter Assam. They set out from Calcutta and reached Sadiya on March 23, 1836. They planned to open school for education of native children through whom the Gospel would be propagated. More missionaries from America arrived at Sadiya for the same purpose. But due to a

tragic massacre committed by the tribals against British force at Sadiya, the Mission Centre was shifted to Jaipur.

From Jaipur the mission was shifted to Sibsagar in 1841. All the missionaries were then engaged in printing and publishing books in Assamese. At Sibsagar, two Naga boys were baptized in 1846. However, in 1858, it was once proposed to close the mission in Assam on the ground that is, was not fruitful as despite 25 years work by many missionaries there were only fifty Assamese Christians in three small churches. But Mr. Brownson persuaded the Home Board of American Baptist Mission not to withdraw mission work.

### **Missionary contact with the Nagas**

Earlier Brownson had made a couple of tours among the Nagas. He visited them for the second time on December 21, 1839. He found them to be responsive. He decided to establish a mission among them. He moved his family to the hills on March 13, 1840 and commenced his work among the Nagas at Namsang (a village in the Tirap Frontier Division). No one was converted during his work at Namsang, though a few Nagas were converted from time to time in the Assam plains. The first convert was a Konyak Naga, named Hube, the second Naga was Longjanglepzük, an Ao from Merangkong village. These two Nagas were members of the Baptist Church at Sibsagar. The third Naga to receive baptism was Yahukonsi Sarah Caldwell and she became a member of the Nowgong Church.

Later, in 1855, two more Konyak men namely Aklong and Amali of Namsang were baptized at Sibsagar by Dr. Brown. These men

returned to their village preaching the Gospel of God. The leaders of the village thought that the new religious teaching would create confusion in the minds of the people and turn the village 'upside down'. Therefore, they exterminated the two men in order to maintain peace in the village. Thus the Christian work among the Nagas did not progress much at that time.

### **Missionary contact with the Aos**

According to Imchen (2000: 53), Christianity was introduced among the Aos from the plain of Assam. Several American Baptist Mission Centres like Sadiya, Noagaon, Guwahati and Sibsagar had been established since 1839. Sibsagar centre lies at the foot of Ao Naga hills that, from there, the Christianity was introduced among the Aos.

In 1869, Rev. E. W. Clark came to Sibsagar to be the Missionary of Assam and was working in the printing press and school at Sibsagar. In the same year, he saw some Naga traders going to and coming from Rongpur. One day a person named Subongmeren along with some others from Dekahaimong (Molungyimchen) were seen in Rongpur and roaming around the house of the missionary and near the school building. Since that day Clark at once determined to go to Naga Hills with the message of God.

In October 1871, Clark sent Godhula to Dekahaimong in order to preach the message of God. In 1872, Godhula took with him 9 (nine) persons down to the Dikhu river where on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1872, Clark baptized them and they became the members of the Church in Sibsagar.

On 18<sup>th</sup> December 1872, Dr. E. W. Clark made his first appearance in the hills of the Naga head-hunters. He came from Sibsagar and arrived at Molungyimchen village to exhort the people to give up the worship of their old deities, head-hunting practices and individual prowess for riches, status etc. Some leading persons feared that their prestige and honour would be vanished by the preachings of the new religion. So these persons began to oppose about the activities of the missionary at the beginning.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1872, 15 persons were baptized in Molung village. This was the first foundation of a church in the soil of Naga Hills. Tajen (1984: 38) states that, "The foundation of a new Christian village at Molung was the beginning of the American Baptist Christian Mission in the fertile soil of the Nagas and this had marked the end of the old ancient era and definitely the beginning of a new era of civilization in nagaland".

### **The Growth and Development of Christianity in Ao area**

The Ao church was formed in 1872 at Molung village Ghosh (1979: 58). From Molung, Yajang village was established in 1885 and a church was set up in 1888. Some Christians from Molung also established Wameken in 1893.

Dr. Clark planned to locate his mission in a central place to be accessible to all the places. He purchased a land from the landowners of Mopungchuhet village. Dr. Clark transferred his headquarters from Molung to Impur in Mopungchuket. At that time five churches at the following places namely Molung, Merangkong, Yajong, Dekahaimong

and Wameken were functioning under Dr. Clark. At Impur a mission school for training of students from the Ao tribe was established. Textbooks, papers, slates, pencils etc., were distributed to the students at free of cost. At the school, the students wear dhoti and Assamese mekhela. After the classes, the students were engaged in manual works in developing the mission centre for which they were paid nominal wages.

The very first year of Godhula's work among the Aos was blessed with success. Philip (1976: 53-54) states that, "well begun is half done is the saying. This is true of the Naga churches as a whole. But as far as the Ao church was concerned, the work was almost complete. Now there are only 1102 non-Christians among the Aos out of a total population of 59,859. God is doing mighty deeds among Nagas. This 'people movement', 'group movement', 'village movement' or 'tribal movement' among the Aos paved the way for further expansion of Christianity in Nagaland."

A school was also started at Mopongchuket in March 1875 but it had closed down due to lack of funds. By 1888, things began to change. The church maintained weekly prayer meetings and Sunday services. The churches at Molung, Merangkong and Yajang were beginning to grow. Eight day schools were operating in different villages. The Assamese teachers incharge of these schools were actively involved in the proclamation of the Gospel. The literature work was efficiently carried out by Clark. He had mastered the Ao language, before leaving

for America in 1885, he left a written dictionary, an Ao Primer, a hymn book and translation of the Gospels of Mathew and John.

After great difficulty and untiring labour the new mission was established. Impur, as a Christian centre, began to show its light to the Ao tribe and to over half a dozen other tribes. The church started growing. The first Association of the Ao Naga church was held at Molung on March 12 and 13, 1897.

### **Impact of Christianity on Ao Culture**

The impact of Christianity on the Ao culture is tremendous on individual, social, economic and religious levels. The Ao people accepted Christianity as a basis of their progress. When Christ came into the lives of the individual Aos, they were completely changed. Their lives were transformed into a newer and richer life. The Ao people no more took interest in drinking rice beer. War and head-hunting disappeared. Instead of hunting heads they became people searching souls. Health and hygiene were marvelously improved. Christianity taught them about personal cleanliness. They learned a new standard of clothing instead of nakedness or scanty dress.

Christianity and education are the two sides of the same coin. The formal education and cultural contacts from the outside world caused many changes in Ao culture. Within a few years a good number of students were trained up well from the mission schools at Impur and Jorhat became the pastors, teachers, officers among the Aos. The advent of Christianity affected not only the people's perception of the world, but also brought changes in all aspects of life. Literature and

education were the main instruments to bring about this change. The most important mode of modernization of the Ao society was through the development of literature. Formerly, students were taught through gesture language and direct presentation of objects. Missionaries transcribed the Ao dialects to writing by introducing the Roman script. This was followed by the composition of some hymns, translation of the Lord's prayer, scripture including Bible stories to be read in schools, dictionary etc. Today all the Ao people can read and write in their own language. The education is highly valued and the literacy is being increased among the Aos. Parents are now realized the value of education and send their children to school in and outside Nagaland. The superstitions and tribal festivals are replaced by Christian faith and Christian festivals. The traditional occupation is given up and people migrate to the urban areas in search of government jobs and business. Thus Christianity brought overall changes in the social life of the Ao people.

Many Aos identified the idea of progress with Christianity. Christianity was understood to be a civilized way of life compared to their former life. Missionaries began the schools in the Ao area and many of the students became Christians. Christians were the first educated ones among their people. They were employed in government services or business. Many were raised to higher positions and better opportunities, better facilities and economic development. Thus, prosperity was attached to Christianity and Ao Christians were found to be placed in high positions in different jobs.

Before the introduction of modern administration and Christianity to Ao culture the people were animist. They used to offer gifts and sacrifices to the spirits of the jungle, both benevolent and malevolent. The practice was similar to many other primitive tribes of South East Asia. Then come Christianity to these people which made many converts.

The introduction of christinaity affected the life of the Ao people in almost every aspect. Initially the village elders were totally against Christianity because they viewed this new religion as a threat to their age-old values of their forefathers. This belief was true because the Christian religion was against all beliefs and practices of the traditional religion. The traditional society of the Aos were lived in isolation for decades and was characterized by jhum cultivation and head-hunting. Every activity whether social, economic or religious of the people was regulated by the age-old beliefs and practices.

The traditional system of occupation for the Aos was agriculture (shifting cultivation). Agriculture was the main occupation for them though there were some people who besides cultivation engaged themselves in blacksmith, carpentry masonry, timber and cane works etc., as side occupation. The newly converted Christians gave up the traditional system of occupation and completely stopped some of the traditional religious practices and social activities such as head-hunting, Morung system, tatoeing, tabooing, Disposal of dead body, hair cut style, genna, worshipping of gods and deities etc. It not only changed

the religious beliefs of the converts but also affected the social set up of the village.

It is true that the missionaries brought civilization, education and medicine, they also taught the people the value of education which encourage them to realize the importance of educating children. The result could be seen from the various occupations taken up by them. The children in the village are not restricted to the home or village. They have the freedom to venture out of the village in search of jobs, education and trade. They (missionaries) taught the people to live and work in the civilized ways and styles which are called modern style.

Tajen (1984: 44) states that, "Many Aos went to France as labour corps of the imperial government during the first great war 1917 and there they saw the outside world with the mighty civilization. The civilization which they had amazingly seen had increased the horizon of their vision wider and greater. After they returned home, they liked to live and do in civilized ways and manners. Many of them started sending their children to the schools in the village and Impur as well. In short the situation immediately following the great war worked in favour of effective evangelization among the people; the people came to know that it was the Christian religion which alone could increase the standard of comfort and living. In short it worked as a change of the new way of life to a new society of life."

Next attempt will be made to observe the impact of Christianity on occupational mobility among the four generations.

**Table 12 – Grandfathers' Occupation and Religion**

Occupation	Non-Christian	Christian	Total
Professional & Administrative	-	-	-
Managerial & Executive	-	-	-
Inspt. Sup. (Higher)	-	-	-
Inspt. Sup. (Lower)	-	9 (1.50)	9 (1.50)
Skilled	-	-	-
Semi & Unskilled	-	3(0.50)	3(0.50)
Farming	553(92.17)	-	553(92.17)
Other Occupation	-	35(5.83)	35(5.83)
Total	553(92.17)	47(7.83)	600(100)

From Table 12, it is shown that out of 600 (six hundred respondents' grandfathers. 553 (92.17%) of them were non-Christian and engaged in traditional occupation (shifting cultivation). There were 35 (5.83%) grandfathers, engaged in other type of occupations as pastor, missionary and gaonbura (village interpreter). There were 3 (0.50%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of jobs as carpentry, security guard, labour etc. there were 9 (1.50%) of the grandfathers were Christian and engaged in inspectional supervisory lower type of occupations as school teacher. It is shown from the table that majority 553 (92.17%) of the grandfathers were non-Christian and only 47 (7.83%) of them were Christian and engaged besides traditional occupations.

**Table 13 – Fathers occupation and Religion**

Occupation	Non-Christian	Christian	Total
Professional & Administrative	-	3(0.50)	3(0.50)
Managerial & Executive	-	46(7.67)	46(7.67)
Inspt. Sup. (Higher)	-	136(22.67)	136(22.67)
Inspt. Sup. (Lower)	-	98(16.33)	98(16.33)
Skilled	-	53(8.83)	53(8.83)
Semi & Unskilled	-	60(10.00)	60(10.00)
Farming	109(18.17)	3(0.50)	112(18.67)
Other occupations	-	92(15.33)	92(15.33)
Total	109(18.17)	491(81.83)	600(100)

From Table 13, it is clearly shown that, there were still 109 (18.17%) of the fathers engaged in traditional occupation as their main occupation and they were non-Christian. There were 491 (81.83%) of the fathers were already converted and engaged in different types of jobs besides agriculture. Of these, 3 (0.50%) of them were engaged in professional and administrative type of occupation as doctor, engineers, lecturers etc. and 46 (7.67%) of them were engaged in managerial and executive type of occupation as managers, and section officers. There were 136 (22.67%) of the fathers were engaged in inspectional, supervisory higher type of occupations as inspector, supervisor, cashiers, etc., and 98 (16.33%) of them were engaged in lower category of occupation as typist, clerk, police constable, teacher, etc. There were 53 (8.83%) of the fathers were Christian and engaged in skilled type of jobs as mechanics, pharmacist, driver etc., and there were 60 (10.00%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations. Among the 491 (81.83%) fathers who were already converted engaged in

traditional occupation as agriculturist and there were 92 (15.33%) of the fathers engaged in other type of occupations as pastor, gaonbura, etc. It may be observed that from the fathers' generation, most of the Ao people were already converted as Christian and placed in other types of jobs other than agriculture.

**Table 14 – Respondents Occupation and Religion**

Occupation	Non-Christian	Christian	Total
Professional & Administrative	-	10(1.67)	10(1.67)
Managerial & Executive	-	98(16.33)	98(16.33)
Inspt. Sup. (Higher)	-	112(18.67)	112(18.67)
Inspt. Sup. (Lower)	-	87(14.50)	87(14.50)
Skilled	-	93(15.50)	93(15.50)
Semi & Unskilled	-	56(9.33)	56(9.33)
Farming	-	40(6.67)	40(6.67)
Other Occupations	-	104(17.33)	104(17.33)
Total	-	600(100)	600(100)

From table 14, with regard to the respondents occupation and religion, it is clearly shown that, all the 600 (six hundred) respondents were found to be Christians and engaged in different types of occupations. Out of 600 (six hundred) respondents, there were 10 (1.67%) of them engaged in professional and administrative type of occupation as doctor, lawyer, engineer and director in various institutions. There were 98 (16.33%) of the respondents engaged in 2<sup>nd</sup> type of category, 112 (18.67%) of them in 3<sup>rd</sup> type of category and 87 (14.50%) of the respondents were engaged in 4<sup>th</sup> type of category. There were 93 (15.50%) of them were engaged in 5<sup>th</sup> type of category as operators, electrician, lineman, laboratorian, etc. During the

grandfathers and fathers generation, when most of the people were non-Christian and illiterate they mainly depend on agriculture for their livelihood and does not require specialization and training. But these days different occupations are being transformed into professions demanding skill and standard. It may be observed that the forces of Christianity among the Aos opened new channels for occupational mobility. It is also observed that norms like personal achievement, equality of opportunities, competition, educational standard, skill, etc., have emerged in the society. There were 56 (9.33%) of the respondents engaged as semi and unskilled worker. It may be pointed out that from the respondents generation almost all the people engaged in farming are not doing the shifting cultivation (traditional occupation) but diverted to modern type of farming as piggery, poultry, fishery, vegetable, fruits farming etc. There were 104 (17.33%) respondents engaged in other type of occupation as pastor, businessmen, political leader, etc.

**Table 15 – Children occupation and Religion**

Occupation	Non-Christian	Christian	Total
Professional & Administrative	-	17(13.70)	17(13.70)
Managerial & Executive	-	8(6.45)	8(6.45)
Inspt. Sup. (Higher)	-	27(21.77)	27(21.77)
Inspt. Sup. (Lower)	-	11(8.87)	11(8.87)
Skilled	-	12(9.67)	12(9.67)
Semi & Unskilled	-	11(8.87)	11(8.87)
Farming	-	6(4.83)	6(4.83)
Other occupations	-	124(99.96)	124(99.96)

From table 15, in regard to the children occupation and religion it is shown that, all the 124 (99.96%) children recorded in the table are

Christians. Of these, 17 (13.70%) of them engaged professional and administrative type of occupation. 8 (6.45%) of them were engaged in managerial and executive type of occupation as manager, sectional officer etc. There were 27 (21.77%) of the children engaged in inspectional, supervisory, non-manual higher grade type of occupation as supervisor, inspector, accountant, cashier, foreman, etc. There were 11 (8.87%) of the children engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations as peon, attendant, labour, helpers, watchmen, etc. It may also be observed that 6 (4.83%) children were engaged in different kinds of farming type of occupation such as fruits farming, piggery, farming, poultry farming etc. Majority 32 (25.80%) of the children were found to be engaged in other types of occupation besides government jobs.

Formerly there was no unemployment problem in the area because there was less educated people or those illiterate forefathers hesitate to abandon the traditional pattern of cultivation in the village. But now-a-days due to the introduction of Christianity and to the swift acculturation the educated youths, even the highly educated persons are not getting clerical jobs.

It may be mentioned here that the Aos are the most educated of all the Naga tribes and they are great in number in all the government jobs of the state and many are working outside the state. However, the problem of unemployment of educated youth is being felt gradually. Of the 32 (25.80%) Aos children engaged in other types of occupations. Majority of them have shown their desire to be employed in

government services of any kind. Only few of them wanted to do the same types of occupations. What emerges from the attitude of these workers is that none of them wants to feel insecure without a job, even if its private one and at the same time they don't want to go back to their forefathers traditional type of occupation which is considered to be a lower occupation than their present job.

As the missionaries were carrying out their educational programme at its full swing the British government in the meantime, came to see the necessity of starting their own schools, partly for purpose of offering secular education to children, and mainly for drawing men from them for employment in their various departments. With the consent and advice of the missionaries the boys who had studied in mission schools were absorbed as pandits (teachers) in the Government Lower Primary Schools which were started in the Government Headquarters and in a few bigger villages.

From the grandfathers occupation and religion, it is clear seen that, majority of them were non-Christian and engaged in agriculture. They were mostly belong to rural agriculture based people. Due to lack of education and exposure to Christianity they continued with the agriculture only which is treated as traditional occupations in the modern society. It is also observed that, those who are converted found to be employed as school pandits, pastor, gaonbura (village interpreter) etc., but very less in number.

When observe clearly it is seen that there was a gradual but slow mobility from traditional occupations to those of modern and secular

occupations. It is seen from the fathers generation that they have slowly moved into higher position of occupational categories which were totally absent or very less in number in the grandfathers generation. From the fathers generation it could be seen that majority of them were Christian and engaged in better placed position of occupational categories comparing to their parents.

It is more than one hundred years that Christianity has been introduced in Ao area and this is the area where Christianity has been first introduced in Nagaland, rather the then Naga Hills. In this hundred years Christianity has been accepted by majority of the Aos and it has exerted a tremendous influence on them. Many of them have given up traditional beliefs and practices and have accepted education as a must. As a result of these two factors the Aos have become educationally far advanced than other tribes of Nagaland and they entered in all government departments in the state.

From the respondents generation it is clearly seen that, almost all the people are Christians and majority of them engaged in non-manual type of occupations. It is also observed that, from the respondents generation, none of the sample recorded in the present study engaged in traditional occupation as their main occupation. Thus it may be observed that there is a marked degree of increase in the rate of shift from traditional to that of modern occupations.

Christianity not only helped spread of education but also greatly reduced the habit of the people of drinking rice beer and it indirectly helped progress of education. As a result of this, the Aos have

progressed much in the sphere of education and they have occupied many high posts of the Government of Nagaland.

### **Conclusion**

When the Aos became Christian, the Christian missionaries and the newly converted local Christian leaders wanted to bring a marked change in the Christian society. Now to distinguish themselves from the non-Christian community, the Christian leader wholeheartedly devoted themselves for the upliftment of the people. It was through their hard work and sacrificing spirit that their aims and visions were fulfilled to a great extent.

In order to spread the Gospel of Christ the Christian leader took all the converted Christian men and women, and preached the Gospel in words and in deed. In those days as the number of newly converted Christians was very few, it was difficult for them to construct their church building by themselves. The Christian leaders with the help of all the newly converted Christian, irrespective of their village, status and position, unitedly struggled for the spread of Christianity and extended their mission. This attracted the attention of all sections of the people and as a result of which the spread of Christianity was so rapid that within a short span of time majority of the people became Christians. With the coming of Christianity there is a tremendous change in the Ao society. The way of life of the Ao people, while adopting itself to a new environment, has resulted in a steady emergence of a new social pattern.

It may be observed that, before the advent of Christianity the Aos were cent per cent illiterate and moreover there was no written language of their own. In order to sow the seed of education in the midst of darkness, the most devoted missionary, Dr. Clark left behind him an Ao English Dictionary and a few books in the Ao language for use in the school. Thus the indigenous system of communicating their views through oral communication was replaced by the written form through the sincere efforts of the Christian missionary. The formal education in the Ao society thus came into existence.

The utmost sincerity and sacrifice of the missionaries have increased the literacy standard among the Aos. It may be mentioned that today, many Aos have gone to different parts of India and abroad for various other higher studies such as Engineering, Medicines, Theology, etc. It is observed that the Aos now have become very much interested in the diversified fields of education. Today the Aos are the most educated of all the Naga tribes and they are most numerous in all the government jobs of the state. Besides, there are many Ao contractors and businessmen. Their incentive to this grown through the efforts of the missionaries who dedicated for the removal of mass ignorance.

In the pre-Christian era the dormitory system played an important role in the Ao society. Dormitory system was closely associated with the traditional way of life. Thus, till the grandfathers generation, most of the Ao people were illiterate and engaged in agriculture. But with the coming of formal education and Christianity the importance of this

system has become almost non-existent. Today the Christian organizations like the church, the school and the hostel have become the substitutes for the traditional dormitory system.

In the past the Aos were known as a head-hunting tribe. In the midst of inter-village feuds the one who could take the enemy's head was regarded as a capable and brave man. But with the coming of Christianity this habit became extinct. Due to preaching of the Gospel of Christ the people changed their minds and that removed the deep rooted traditional practice.

Drinking of rice beer was considered as one of the unavoidable items in all the affairs and events – beginning from day-to-day life up to all the important feasts, festivals and ceremonies. But with the coming of Christianity drinking of rice beer was forbidden. The church strictly prohibited alcoholic drinks, and tea was introduced as a substitute for rice beer. The Aos had many indigenous feasts and festivals, almost every month. But with the coming of Christianity many traditional festivals have given up and now they are observing Christmas and New Year along with the traditional festivals like Moatsu and Tsungremmong.

Before their conversion into Christianity their belief and faith were connected with sacrifices and rituals and these were generally followed by a series of feasts. Those beliefs and practices, sacrifices and costly feasts etc., had been abolished by the people themselves after their conversion into Christianity.

Most of the traditional forms of economic activities which created reciprocal relationship between the group of neighbours or kins are now dying out step by step. The practice of locally made artifacts such as pots and hoes, obtained from craftsman is increasingly being replaced by purchase of machine made kitchen and agricultural implements from the market place for cash.

The traditional society of the Aos were lived in isolation for centuries and was characterized by jhum cultivation. Agriculture was the main occupation during the grandfathers generation and they were tied to its village origin. But it is clearly seen that, from the respondents generation, almost all the people are highly educated, converted and employed in high placed jobs. Thus the data presented in the preceding tables it is evident that Ao culture of today is much different from what it was only half a century ago. Within this period almost the whole of the Ao population has become Christians.

It has already been stated that the most important factors triggering in change in the Ao society are Christianity, formal education, contact with the outside world, particularly after the first great war in 1917 (many Aos went to France as labour corps of the imperial Government) and saw the outside world with mighty civilization.

Thus, it is observed that the introduction of Christianity among the Aos has changed the traditional system of Ao culture. Many Ao people shift from rural areas to urban areas and giving up of the traditional profession and search of employment and other occupation.

## CHAPTER VI

### IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

#### **Introduction**

This chapter deals with the impact of education on the occupational mobility among the AOs. It will measure the influence of the educational attainment of the individuals on that of the occupational status and the resultant occupational mobility.

The word 'education' comes from the Latin word, 'educare' which means 'to bring up' or 'to nourish'. Education means both the acquisition of knowledge and experience as well as the development of skills, habits and attitudes to help a person to lead a worthwhile life. That education ought to be related to the life, needs and aspirations of the people so as to be a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation. Education is not merely a means of earning a living, nor it is only a nursery of thought or a school for citizenship. It is initiation into the life of spirit, a training of human souls in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Education is carried on by some agencies of socialization which are formally organized as schools. The training an individual receives in school determines the social class position on the process of social mobility in all individuals in particular and in all societies in general. As the aim of education is an all round development of human personality, it is also helped every individual to become a well-adjusted being in his society.

There is a basic relationship between education and the occupational system. The particular amount and the kinds of education are prerequisites for entrance into the occupational system. According to Burton R. Clark,<sup>1</sup> "Men become part of the potential labour force by qualifying for the work required, and increasingly, capability is defined by formal schooling. Advanced education offers competence; little schooling defines occupational incompetence. Thus occupational achievement is prefigured by education." In discussing this, Hahalambo and Heald (1980) states that, "educational attainment in advanced industrial societies is increasingly linked to occupational status. There is a steady move from ascribed to achieved status and education plays an important part in this process educational qualifications increasingly form the basis for the allocation of individuals to occupational statuses. Thus, there is a 'tightening bond' between education and occupation". There is a relationship between education, occupation and the total social system. As it is clear from the above discussion, that the occupations act as a link for an individual and family to the stratification system, the educational system becomes a major factor in the placement of people within the total social system.

The relationship between educational attainment and occupational aspirations explains the role of parental influence on the mobility aspirations of adolescents. Parents encourage educational and occupational ambitions in children. All individuals do not possess equal

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1. Burton R. Clark, "Sociology of Education", *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, ed. Robert, E.L. Faris, p. 737.

educational and occupational aspirations. Sunanda (1986: 116) states that, "the hypothesis of differential mobility aspirations explains that individuals who experience a depriving family milieu are more likely to be aspirant than one who experiences a more satisfying milieu. Because in the Indian situation the father still occupies a dominant place in the family, the influence of latter should be considered first." One's type and level of education also depends heavily upon the social status (in terms of occupations) of one's father. In this connection, the role of the education of an individual in producing a powerful association between parental and children status and how far does an upward or downward movement in the parental social status influence an individual's education has to be studied.

Further education is important in the maintenance of the achievement of a relatively high social status. The quality of education has got its own influence on an individual's mobility. Gisbert (1973), states that, "After all the greater the educational attainment, the greater the likelihood of larger economic rewards and upward social mobility." Further education also meant for the parental to children association at least for the sons of upper status fathers and further increases the social ascent of the sons of lower status fathers. Thus, the present study will be examined as how far the education and training of sons is influenced or determined by the training and education of their fathers.

The quality of education is positively correlated with occupational achievements, opportunities for occupational mobility and the maintenance or the advancement of one's social class, position. As

education is the backbone of a nation, it is the royal road to success and to the positions of power and prestige in the stratification system. Hall (1969: 307) mentions that, "the lower an individual's position in the stratification system, the less his chances for attaining college entrance or high school graduation." Dunkerley (1975: 14) also gives a similar view as, "It can be confidently stated that the higher the social class level from which an individual comes, the greater the probability that he will aspire to those occupations that society has defined as the most socially prestigious and economically rewarding." There is the chance that the higher one's social class, the more and the better the education and occupation one receives. The chances of children with superior intelligence of attending college increase as the father's occupational status increase. These social class positions which is obtained through educational achievements, in turn help individuals to move socially in particularly with regard to occupational achievements. Thus, there is always a correlation between educational attainment and occupational achievement.

With the advent of industrialization, changes in the educational system and in the amount of literacy in India have been brought about. The spread of formal schooling led to high literacy rate among lower classes. Education has provided many Indians of all social classes with new knowledge and skills, giving them the necessary movement into new and more highly-valued social roles than those formerly occupied by them or their parents. Thus, education in modern times has accelerated the rate of occupational mobility. Dubey (1975: 1) states that, "Education is considered as an important feature of industrial society, hence is given

top priority and thus, becomes an important factor for getting ahead in life. It has replaced some of the traditional occupations with modern occupations. It can be said that education is positively associated with one's occupational background". Some of the castes were deprived owing to the social inequalities imposed by the system, which affect on the educational achievements. With the advent of industrialization, the situation has undergone a change; equal opportunities with regard to education are given to individuals irrespective of their caste.

Industrialization in any country is dependent largely upon the educational development of the population. The close relationship of education and occupation is a very recent phenomenon. As from the above discussion, it is clear that, the advent of industrialization was linked to a general growth of the educational system. Universal education becomes a fact and literacy became a general expectation. Passin<sup>2</sup> points out that, "At the very least, literacy made it possible for people to be aware of things outside of their own immediate experience. It also made it possible for them to conceive of arrangements that differed from those with which they were familiar. They were therefore much more accessible to new ideas and new techniques than they otherwise would have been." Thus education is a pre-requisite for occupations in the industrialized and technologically changing societies.

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2. H. Passin, "Portents of Modernity and the Meiji Emergence", *Education and Economic Development*, eds. C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965), p. 419.

Education as one of the most powerful agents of British colonialism began with the Christian missionaries among the Naga tribes. It may be noted here that from the very beginning of their contact with the Nagas, the British officers perceived the necessity of introducing Christianity and education among the Naga tribes, for they considered education as the best agency for modernizing the Nagas, with this viewpoint, the colonial education policy was mainly directed to the extension of grants-in-aid to the missions in Naga Hills. In Naga Hills District, although the government largely depended on missions' schools for the education of the Naga people, it was also opened school in its own. For example, on 31<sup>st</sup> March 1904, the district had six Lower Primary Schools maintained by the Government and sixteen mission schools were receiving grants-in-aid from the government, Sema, Piketo (1992: 78). However, by 1930's the general policy of the government was to take over the responsibility of education from the missions as early as possible. Meanwhile, during 1930's Government schools had significantly increased.

In Mokokchung district, for the first time, an informal education was started by Rev. Clark in Molungyimsen village in 1878, with the help of Godhula Babu, an Assamese missionary. Later in 1882, the missionaries came to Mopongchukit village and started another school in Impur the Mission Compound. The mission school at Impur gradually became a centre of education not only for the Aos but for others also, as people from other tribes started coming to this school, and gradually they opened schools in their areas. Thus, in Naga Hills district the education

first started in Ao area and from there it spread to other tribe, Ghosh, B. B. (1979: 209).

Imchen (2000: 142) states that, "The introduction of modern education by the missionaries ushered in a modern world view among the tribal people. It is interesting to know that wherever a church was founded, a school was also established simultaneously by the early missionaries. These schools were known as mission schools. The missionaries, especially the Baptist missionaries, continued this policy as late as the forties; but after India's Independence, the educational programme was either taken over by the Government for combined with the Government run schools, and consequently this led to the Mission schools being phased out or discontinued".

Thus during British time not much government attention was paid towards education or any developmental works, and so the progress of education among the Aos was slow. After Independence of India, the Assam Government looked into the matter and some more primary schools were opened.

Formerly, there used to be a Morung or dormitory in each Khels of the village. Generally, the Morung or the dormitory was the fortress of the village where the young boys and girls used to sleep and learn traditional customs. It was, in fact, a training and learning place for the young people in every aspect of life. They had to educate themselves in warfare, head-hunting, cultivation and all the necessary things that the society needed in the dormitory. Thus the dormitory or Morung was a kind of educational centre for young boys and girls in those days.

However, owing to the spread of Christianity and education among the Aos, Morung or dormitory system has almost become disfunction. Dormitory is nowhere to be found in any village these days and Morung is also built except in some villages for memory's sake only. Nowadays, Morung and dormitory has been substituted by organizations like hostel, club and various students organizations in the society.

Before the introduction of Christian mission in the society, there was no written form of any script among the Ao Nagas. They solely depended on oral tradition only. As quoted by Philip (1978: 202) in the words of Mr. Mayengnohcha that in 1877 when Dr. and Mrs. Clark began to teach at Molungymen, "the only feasible medium was gesture language and direct presentation of objects". Today all the Ao people can read and write in their own language. The education is highly valued and the literacy is being increased. Parents are now understand the value of education and keen to send their children to school.

The introduction of Christianity and education, however, disrupted the indigenous system of learning and redirected them to the new pattern of modern education. With the increasing acceptance of formal education, indigenous system learning was gradually diminished. Thus modern education had substantial influence on the socio-cultural life of the Aos.

Christianity not only helped spread of education but also greatly reduced the habit of the people of drinking rice beer and it indirectly helped progress of education among the Aos. Many of them have given up drinking rice beer and have accepted education as a must. As a result

of this, the Aos have become educationally far advanced than other tribes of Nagaland and they have developed in all respects.

The standard of living of the Ao people have changed notably as a result of the effect of modern educational system. The superstitions and tribal festivals are replaced by Christians faith and festivals. The moral standard and values of life have been improved. More people from rural areas are able to move to urban areas for employment and formal education as they are able to realize the value of education and achieved better occupational positions.

Unlike the Hindu caste system, in Ao society, the occupational status of an individual is not ascribed merely by birth or heredity but is achieved by hard work, education and training. The process of urbanization and increased educational opportunities encourage individuals to specialize in various technical fields. Before there was no unemployment problem in the society due to less educated people and not requirement of so much specialization and training for entering a job.

From the above discussion it is clear that there is a close relationship between education and the occupational system. The advent of urbanization is linked to a general growth of the educational system. Thus this attempt will be made to examine the impact of education on occupational mobility among the four generations.

**Table 16: Grandfathers' Occupation and Education**

Occupation	No Schooling	Class A-6	Class 7-10	Matri- culate	Gra- duate	Post Gra- duate	Docto- rate	Tech- nical	Total
Proff. & Adm.									
Manager & Executive									
Insp. Sup. (Higher)									
Insp. Sup. (Lower)		8 (1.33)	1 (0.17)						9 (1.50)
Skilled									
Semi & Unskilled	2 (0.33)	1 (0.17)							3 (0.50)
Farming	553 (92.17)								553 (92.17)
Other Occupations	17 (2.83)	18 (3.00)							35 (5.83)
Total	572 (95.33)	27 (4.50)	1 (0.17)						600 (100)

From Table 16, it is shown that, there were 9 (1.50%) of the grandfathers engaged in inspectional, supervisory non-manual lower type of occupation as pastor, teacher and security guards. There were 3 (0.50%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupation as clerks and carpentry. There were 553 (92.17%) of the grandfathers who were illiterate engaged in farming (traditional occupation). There were 35 (5.83%) of them engaged in other types of occupations as village goanbura, village guards, village council member etc. Some of them who had attained up to Class VI were engaged in church works as, pastor and missionary.

**Table 17: Fathers' Occupation and Education**

Occupation	No School-ing	Class A-6	Class 7-10	Matriculate	Graduate	Post Graduate	Docto-rate	Techn-ical	Total
Prof. & Adm.					1 (0.17)	1 (0.17)		1 (0.17)	3 (0.5)
Manager & Executive			1 (0.17)	16 (2.67)	21 (3.5)			8 (1.33)	46 (7.67)
Insp. Sup. (Higher)		1 (1.17)	24 (4)	58 (9.67)	39 (6.5)			14 (2.33)	136 (22.67)
Insp. Sup. (Lower)		7 (1.17)	26 (4.33)	43 (7.17)	22 (3.67)				98 (16.33)
Skilled	3 (0.5)	11 (1.83)	32 (5.33)	7 (1.17)					53 (8.83)
Semi & Unskilled	22 (3.67)	35 (5.83)	3 (0.5)						60 (10)
Farming	101 (16.83)	7 (1.17)	4 (0.67)						112 (18.67)
Other Occupations	8 (1.33)	46 (7.67)	16 (2.67)	6 (1)	13 (2.17)			3 (0.5)	92 (15.33)
Total	134 (22.33)	107 (17.83)	106 (17.67)	130 (21.67)	96 (16)	1 (0.17)		26 (4.33)	600 (100)

From Table 17, it is shown that, there were 3 (0.50%) fathers engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations, of these fathers, 1 (0.17%) had attained graduate level of education, 1 (0.17%) had postgraduate level and another 1 (0.17%) had done technical course and work as a medical doctor.

There were 46 (7.67%) of the fathers who were engaged in 2<sup>nd</sup> type of occupational position. Of these fathers 1 (0.17%) of them had attained classes between 7-10, 16 (2.67%) of them had studied matriculate, 21 (3.5%) of them had studied graduate level and 8 (1.33%) of them had done technical course.

There were 136 (22.67%) fathers engaged in 3<sup>rd</sup> type of occupational position as inspector, graduate teacher, supervisor,

accountant etc. There were 1 (0.17%) of them studied up to Class VI standard, 24 (4%) of them studied up to Class X standard, 58 (9.67%) of them had attained matriculate level, 39 (6.5%) of them studied graduate level and 14 (2.33%) of them had done technical courses.

There were 98 (16.33%) of the fathers engaged in 4<sup>th</sup> type of occupational positions as under matric teacher, store keeper, LDA etc. Of these, 7 (1.17%) of them had studied up to Class VI standard, 26 (4.33%) of them studied up to Class X standard, 43 (7.17) of them studied matriculate level and 22 (3.67%) of them had studied graduate level.

There were 53 (8.33%) of the fathers engaged in skilled type of occupations as electricians, drivers, operators, mechanics, linemen, etc. Of these fathers, 3 (0.5%) of them were illiterate. There were 11 (1.83%) of them had studied up to Class VI standard, 32 (5.33%) of them had studied up to Class X standard and 7 (1.17%) of them had studied matriculate level.

There were 60 (10%) of the fathers engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations as labour, attenders, cooks, peon, etc. Of these fathers, 22 (3.67%) of them were illiterates, 35 (5.83%) of them were studied classes between A-6 standard and 3 (0.5%) of them had studied classes between 7-10 standard.

There were 112 (18.67%) of the fathers engaged in different types of farming as dairy farming, poultry farming, fishery etc. There were 101 (16.83%) of them were illiterates, 7 (1.17%) of them studied classes

between A-6 standard and 4 (0.67%) of them had studied classes between 7-10 standard level.

There were 92 (15.33%) of the fathers engaged in other types of occupations as church worker, contractor, private school & college teachers, various kinds of business owners etc. Of these, 8 (1.33%) of them were illiterates, 46 (7.67%) of them were studied classes between A-6 standard, 16 (2.67%) of them had studied classes between 7-10, there were 6 (1%) of them studied matriculate, 13 (2.17%) of them were graduates and 3 (0.5%) of them had done technical course.

**Table 18: Respondents' Occupation and Education**

Occupation	No School-ing	Class A-6	Class 7-10	Matriculate	Graduate	Post Graduate	Docto-rate	Technical	Total
Prof. & Adm.					1 (0.17)	2 (0.33)	5 (0.83)	2 (0.33)	10 (1.67)
Manager & Executive					31 (5.17)	28 (4.67)	4 (0.67)	35 (5.83)	98 (16.33)
Insp. Sup. (Higher)				14 (2.33)	39 (6.50)	10 (1.67)		49 (8.17)	112 (18.67)
Insp. Sup. (Lower)			1 (0.17)	26 (4.33)	46 (7.67)	3 (0.50)		11 (1.83)	87 (14.50)
Skilled		11 (1.83)	24 (4)	17 (2.83)	10 (1.67)			31 (5.17)	93 (15.50)
Semi & Unskilled	4 (0.67)	12 (2)	31 (5.17)	9 (1.5)					56 (9.33)
Farming	3 (0.50)		26 (4.33)	11 (1.83)	7 (1.17)				40 (6.67)
Other Occupations	7 (1.17)	16 (2.67)	17 (2.83)	34 (5.67)	29 (4.83)			1 (0.17)	104 (17.33)
Total	14 (2.33)	39 (6.5)	99 (16.5)	111 (16.5)	156 (26)	43 (7.17)	9 (1.5)	129 (21.5)	600 (100)

From Table 18, it is shown that, from the 10 (1.67%) of the respondents engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations, 1 (0.17%) was a graduate, 2 (0.33%) of them were

postgraduates, 5 (0.83%) of them were doctorate and 2 (0.33%) of them have taken technical courses.

Out of 98 (16.33%) respondents who were engaged in managerial and executive type of occupations, 31 (5.17%) of them had attained graduate level of education, 28 (4.67%) of them had attained postgraduate level, 4 (0.67%) of them had attained doctorate and 35 (5.83%) of them had done different kinds of technical courses.

Out of 112 (18.67%) of the respondents engaged in inspectional, supervisory, non-manual higher types of occupations, 14 (2.33%) of them were matriculate, 39 (6.5%) of them were graduates, 10 (1.67%) of them were attained up to postgraduate and 49 (8.17%) of them had done different kinds of technical courses.

Among the 87 (14.5%) respondents engaged in non-manual lower types of occupations, 1 (0.17%) of them was studied classes between 7-10 standard level, 26 (4.33%) of them, were matriculate, 46 (7.67%) of them were graduates, 3 (0.5%) of them were postgraduates and 11 (1.83%) of them were taken technical courses.

Out of 93 (15.5%) of the respondents engaged in skilled type of occupation, 11 (1.83%) of them had studied classes between A-6, 24 (4%) of them were studied classes between 7-10, 17 (2.83%) of them were matriculates, 3 (0.5%) of them were graduates and 31 (5.17%) of them were taken different types of technical courses.

Another group of 56 (9.33%) respondents were engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations. Of these respondents, 4 (0.67%) of them were illiterates, 12 (2%) of them were studied classes between A-6. There were 31 (5.17%) of them were between 7-10 classes and 9 (1.5%) of them were attained matriculate level.

There were 40 (6.67%) of the respondents engaged in different kinds of farming. Of these respondents, 3 (0.5%) of them were illiterates, 26 (4.33%) of them were between 7-10 classes and 11 (1.83%) of them were matriculate level.

In the final group, there were 104 (17.33%) of the respondents engaged in different types of other occupations. There were 7 (1.17%) of them were illiterates, 16 (2.67%) of them had studied classes between A-6, and 17 (2.83%) of them were between 7-10 classes. There were 34 (5.67%) of them attained matriculate, 29 (4.83%) of them were graduates and 1 (0.17%) of them was taken technical course.

**Table 19: Children's Occupation and Education**

Occupation	No School-ing	Class A-6	Class 7-10	Matriculate	Graduate	Post Graduate	Docto-rate	Techni-cal	Total
Proff. & Adm.					2 (1.61)	8 (6.45)	2 (1.61)	5 (4.03)	17 (13.70)
Managerial & Executive					2 (1.61)	3 (2.41)		3 (2.41)	8 (6.45)
Insp. Sup. (Higher)				6 (4.03)	14 (11.29)	6 (4.83)		1 (0.80)	27 (21.77)
Insp. Sup. (Lower)				5 (4.03)	6 (4.83)				11 (8.87)
Skilled				6 (4.83)	2 (6.45)			4 (3.22)	12 (9.67)
Semi & Unskilled			3 (2.41)	8 (6.45)					11 (8.87)

Farming			1 (0.80)	2 (1.61)	3 (2.41)				6 (4.83)
Other Occupations		2 (1.61)	2 (1.61)	5 (4.03)	19 (15.32)	1 (0.80)		3 (2.41)	32 (25.80)
Total		2 (1.61)	6 (4.83)	32 (25.80)	48 (38.70)	18 (14.51)	2 (1.61)	16 (12.90)	124 (99.96)

From Table 19, it is shown that, out of 17 (13.70%) of the children engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations, 2 (1.61%) of them were graduate, 8 (6.45%) of them were post-graduate, 2 (1.61%) of them were doctorates and 5 (4.03%) of them have taken technical courses. Out of 8 (6.45%) children who were engaged in managerial and executive type of occupations, 2 (1.61%) of them were graduate, 3 (2.41%) of them had attained post-graduate level of education and another 3 (2.41%) of them have done technical courses.

Out of 27 (21.77%) children engaged in Inspectional, Supervisory, non-manual higher grade type of occupations, 6 (4.83%) of them had attained metriculate level of education, 14 (11.29%) of them were graduate; 6 (4.83%) of them were post-graduate, 1 (0.80%) was done technical course.

There were 11 (8.87%) of the children engaged in Inspectional, Supervisory, non-manual lower grade type of occupations. Of these children, 5 (4.03%) of them were matriculate and 6(4.83%) of them had attained graduate level of education.

There were 12 (9.67%) of the children engaged in skilled type of occupations. Of these children, 5 (4.83%) of them had attained

matriculate level of education, 2 (1.61%) of them had attained graduate level and 4 (3.22%) of them had done technical courses.

Out of 11 (8.87%) children engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations, 3 (2.41%) of them had studied between Class 7-10 and 8 (6.45%) of them had attained up to matriculate level of education.

Out of 6 (4.83%) children engaged in different kinds of farming, 1 (0.80%) was studied between Class 7-10, there were 2 (1.61%) of them attained matriculate and 3 (2.41%) of them had attained graduate level of education.

There were 32 (25.80%) of the children engaged in different types of other occupations. Out of these children, 2 (1.61%) of them had studied up to Class A-6, another 2 (1.61%) had studied up to Class 7-10, 5 (4.03%) of them had attained matriculate. There were 19 (15.32%) of the children had attained graduate level of education, 1 (0.80%) was studied up to post-graduate and there were 3 (2.41%) of them have done technical courses.

### **Conclusion**

Thus, the following analysis has been emerged from the calculated data of the impact of education on occupational mobility.

From Table 16, with regard to the grandfathers' occupation and education, it is seen that, among the grandfathers there was a low literacy level and also, a corresponding level of occupational status. Thus, the majority 572 (95.33%) were illiterates, while others 28 (4.67%) with a

low level of education were also engaged in traditional agriculture and other manual occupations.

From Table 17, regarding the fathers' occupation and education, it is clearly seen from the calculated data that, the educational background of the father in general was still low and also correspondingly their occupational status. It may be also observed that, there is no clear-cut relationship between the fathers educational background and their occupational positions. Those who attained higher occupational status did not have adequate educational requirements as per modern standards. Thus there was no definite relationship or interdependence between the educational and occupational system.

From Table 18, with reference to the respondents' occupation and education, it may be observed that all the respondents engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations, generally fulfill the required educational qualification for their occupational positions. Thus, in this case, clearly indicates the relationship between education and their occupational position.

From Table 19, with regard to the children occupation and education, it may be observed that, the calculated data show a relationship between one's educational and occupational status. Unlike the grandfathers and fathers, most of the children were able to achieve higher occupational status on a par with their educational achievement. As the data indicates, in case of the children engaged in the non-manual type of occupations, more than 95 (76.61%) have attained graduation, post-graduation, Ph.D. degrees and technical courses. The case clearly

indicates the amount of specialization required for one's entry into a modern industrial type of occupations. It may be mentioned here that the AOs are now facing the problem of unemployment of educated people. It has been calculated that, out of 124 children employed in different categories of occupations, majority 32 (25.80%) of them were engaged in other occupations and 6 (4.83%) of them are engaged in farming, which are independent type of occupations. Many of the children got diverted to independent type of jobs such as farming and business and private jobs due to non-availability of government salaried jobs.

When generally observe from all the above tables, it is seen that, most of the respondents were able to achieve higher occupational status on a par with their educational achievements comparing to their fathers and grandfathers. It is also observe that the respondents engaged in the professional and managerial and executive type of occupations were educationally qualified. From the third generation level most of the respondents were studied up to graduation, post-graduation and doctorate degree which were totally nil or very less in case of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation level.

Thus, it is clearly indicated that the amount of specialization required for one's entry into a modern industrial type of occupation in general, and into professional and administrative types of occupation in particular. It is also observed that when the level of educational achievement decreases, the level of occupational position is also lowered correspondingly.

Before, formal educational requirements for most occupations were minimal. From the data available in the present study show that most of the grandfathers and fathers of the respondents were in professional and executives types of occupations (particularly medicine practitioners, teachers, managers, administrators, etc.) without any proper education and training. It was only then skill and practice that gave them competence in their occupational field. These days, none can enter non-manual type of occupations without a college education and proper training. The untrained and unskilled individual has essentially lost his place in the labour market. Clark<sup>3</sup> says that, "the high school dropout is in reality a problem because of his position in the labour force." There is a strong relationship between unemployment rates and level of education. Education in the form of training has become a major consideration for occupational levels. Today due to the existence of unemployment problem in the society different occupations are being transformed into professions demanding skill standard. Most professions engage in continuing educational programmes for their members, such as engineers, doctors, lawyers and so on. Education continues even during the employment period in such a profession, which exerts more pressure on the educational system for its supply of personnel while the output of the educational system is consumed by the occupational system. Thus, there is always a close relationship and mutual dependence between the educational and occupational system.

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3. Clark, *Op.cit.*, p. 738.

Many of the respondents in general were able to achieve higher educational and occupational positions when compare the data on the fathers with that of the respondents. In the light of the proposed parental influence hypothesis, certain arguments may be concluded that, in some cases, even though the fathers did not have sufficient educational background and engaged in traditional occupation, the respondents have generally moved higher as far as educational and occupational status is concerned. And in reverse way, even those with higher educational attainment background and economically rich could not provide their sons for better educational and occupational positions. Thus the above discussion definitely supports, the parental influence hypothesis as well as the hypothesis of differential mobility aspirations.

It is also generally observed that children from rich and well educated families are psychologically secure by virtue of their parental educational and economic background and hence lack the initiative for further individual mobility. Sometimes these children occupy lower occupational positions as compared to their parents due to the lack of adequate formal education and training in that case, they experience a downward social mobility from their parental positions. Some of the young respondents are forced to occupy lower occupational positions as compared to their adequate educational qualification and many are diverted to business and other private jobs than government salaried one, due to the existent of unemployment problem in the society. Many young educationally qualified respondents are also forced to land up in a low status job as they are at the risk of over age problem in the government service, whenever they get a better opportunity they opt for that which

tend to increase the rate of occupational mobility. Due to lack of proper education, many of the respondents cannot adjust to agriculture-based families and societies and to avoid the situation, they tend to migrate to urban areas in search of modern industrial occupations. Moreover, urban residence is an important factor with which they gain more access to education when compared to their rural people. They can easily explore the various avenues of occupations. They can easily explore the various avenues of occupations existing in the towns and cities. Apart from the above mentioned point, one characteristic feature of occupational mobility in general is that irrespective of their educational background, most of the respondents have moved from their traditional parental occupation to modern industrial occupation.

It was generally observed that, the low educational background of the parents in general proved to be an obstacle for the children's occupational mobility. However, some exceptions are also found where parents with a very low level of educational background could attain higher occupational status as doctors, engineers, lawyers, scientists, etc. there is a close relationship between the parents educational background and children occupational background. Thus, the children with a high level of parental education were able to achieve a higher occupational status except certain cases, the children were not able to achieve comparatively higher occupational positions irrespective of their parents high educational background.

When generally observe from all the above available data, it is seen that there is a basic relationship between one's educational

achievement and occupational position. It is indicated that the amount of specialization required for one's entry into a modern industrial type of occupations. It is also observed that when the level of educational achievement decreases, the level of occupational position is also lowered correspondingly which supports Gisbert theory.

## CHAPTER VII

### IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

#### Introduction

In the present chapter, an attempt will be made to study the differential occupational mobility trends among the Aos migrants who have migrated from rural-urban, urban-urban areas. For the present study, cases of direct migration and step migration will also be considered. To study the relationship between migration and occupational mobility, the meaning of migration will be defined. According to *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*,<sup>1</sup> it states that, "In its most general sense, 'migration' is ordinarily defined as the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance." For the present study, the exact meaning of terms such as 'permanent' and 'significant' tends to delimit. For the present study, the migrants may be classified into groups on the basis of the nature of staying in the community, namely seasonal migrants and permanent migrants. In the seasonal migrants category, all the transferable positions and the highly mobile central government servants, particularly those engaged in military services have been included in the sample. In the permanent migrants category includes, only those voluntary migrants who have migrated to the town in search of occupation on their own

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1. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 9 and 10, p. 286, ed., David L. Sills, The Macmillan Co. & the Free Press, New York, 1972.

accord and those engaged in semi-government services which are not transferable in nature, as well as other private business owners, have been taken into consideration. For the present study, only the permanent migrants category have been included. In order to determine the permanency, the minimum duration of stay should be determined. In the present study, the respondents with at least one year of residence in the town of Mokokchung are included in the sample. The word 'significant' distance is defined from the Latin *migrare*, to change one's residence, but for the present study it meant rather to change one's community. In practice, it is the geographical distance that is generally taken consideration to measure roughly whether the migrant crosses into another community. Thus, the number of persons going to a given distance is directly proportional to the number of employment opportunities at that distance.

Some of the scholars argue that occupational mobility in rural areas has been greatly influenced by urbanization. The more the village community is affected by urbanization the greater is the occupational diversification and migration. Sometimes motivation for outward migration is continued by the stress of the village economy. The attitude changes towards the traditional occupational structure, however, as a result from both external and internal forces. The external forces are land reforms, secularization, industrialization, urban contracts, means of communication, transport and modern education, the expanding employment opportunities in the growing city, the attraction of the city life, the encouragement or inducement by relations in the cities, sense of adventure, high wages in urban areas etc. Some of the internal forces

include the income constraints in villages, the shrinking employment opportunities. Lack of adjustment to the traditional society on the part of so-called educated youngsters, the age old social injustice suffered by the so-called backward society in the rural community, low wages in rural areas, etc. The forces of occupational mobility function in a cumulative and complementary manner.

The migration from rural areas to urban centres does not involve merely a movement in physical space but also additional cultural factors associated with a different language and region. The occupation of an individual migrant also undergoes change. It is a process towards a breakdown of old values and systems which yield place to new ones, with varying degrees of resistance and concomitant stress and strain on the individual, the family and social life. The rigidly maintained society traditions and the series of change noticeable in them involve the entire range of social institutions, behavioural patterns, social structures, belief systems, and so forth. They generally attempt to retain the basic features of the rural social system with varying degrees of success. In the process of change, which affects the periphery at the most, some of the elements get substituted, some added, some discarded and some metamorphosed through a process of reinterpretation. The migrant or mobile man experiences a total shift from the rural traditional occupations to that of the modern industrial one which is more advanced and disciplined.

In most of the general models of migration, it is presumed that movement is generated mainly by economic forces. This may not be the

only reason, there are other non-economic factors such as lack of adjustment to the society, a sense of adventure, the attraction of city life and so forth, which motivate an individual to migrate to other communities. Longchar (1995: 155) states that, "Industrialization and urbanization go together. They attract people to work and this leads to a massive increase in migration to urban places from rural areas. Many rural people think that cities and towns are the most likely places for economic, social and political opportunities. People believe that once they move to the urban areas, they will be able to find opportunities to earn a livelihood." Push as well as pull factors do not have an equal impact on people. In discussing this, Chopra and Gulati (2001: 51) states that, "Distress migration from rural to urban areas is caused because of lack of employment opportunities in economically backward agricultural tracts and better employment opportunities in industrial and urban centres in surrounding areas. Thus rural out-migration to urban and industrially developed centres stem's from push factors at the place of origin. Urban amenities and better employment opportunities act as the pull factors at the place of destination from these rural out-migrants." Dube (1990: 105) also support the view as, "The development of rural communities requires migration of surplus labour from rural to urban areas where they can find gainful employment. Given the represent situation, push factors will operate in the villages and urban areas which will continue to pull village people towards them." Migration is a complex process as it depends upon a number of factors. Some of them also tends to be self-selective. The forces of modernization have pushed the tribals out of their native villages to towns and cities. The reservation

of jobs in government services and the educational facilities have also attracted the people to migrate to the towns and cities.

Migratory rate is more in adolescents and young adults. The young adopt more easily to the change (geographical) and since they are close to the beginning of their work life they can more readily take advantage of new opportunities. Some scholars argue that it is the less intelligent who seek their fortune outside their native place and that the intelligent ones succeed at home. Others feel that the latter are more receptive to a stimulus to migrate, unlike the duller one remains behind. Although conclusions from various studies vary from one another, there is a certain tentative conclusion for the present study that urban occupations are generally more demanding, rural-urban movements typically select more intelligent. There are various types of migrants as some of them, for example, professionals seeking careers, young one seeking education, workers seeking for specific jobs etc. For the present study as it is only concerned with occupations, the study will be done to discuss migration in the light of occupational (classification adopted for the study. The patterns of status attainment may also differ from one occupational category to that of another, the rural origin of the migrant respondent may be lower than the migrants from cities because of its effects on educational attainment which penalizes his chances for mobility.

The migrants from different community of origin shows the effects on status achievement. Migrants from cities and towns are more qualified to compete successfully for positions in the urban occupational

structure. That their higher qualifications are more manifest before moving to the city, than that of the migrants from villages. They also experience a high degree of social mobility prior to their move to the city, as they had sufficient education for occupational mobility. Migrants from villages have higher levels of educational attainments as compared to who remain in the villages and migrants from cities and towns exhibit superior occupational achievements.

In urbanized society, migration plays an important role for occupational mobility. Migration from rural to urban areas improves the opportunities of migrants. Communication facilities in modern society gives chance the individual to migrate and to translate their potential into actual achievements. On the other hand, who live in areas with restricted opportunities, tend to limit their occupational chances when they migrate to cities and towns. These people experience occupational mobility by virtue of their migration to urban areas. In cities and towns, almost everybody whether literate or illiterate, generally finds something to do from among the variety of new opportunities that are generated in a growing town. The migrants generally manage to get hold of a source of income from the new job opportunities available in the towns and cities. There may be many inadequate conditions to adjust to, but compared to the limited and restricted opportunities in the village which compelled them to migrate. The growth of population and the increase in income accompanying the growth of economic activities in the city and town.

Employment opportunities for the rural poor in the city and town is generated by the middle and high income groups engaged in the government occupations. Many of the rural migrants getting the jobs as cooks, cleaner, night-guard, watchmen in private houses. Then the change of occupation followed depends on their ability to acquire new skills.

The Indian social system is believed to be and is often described as bounded and rigid, that the rural population of India was comparatively non-migratory. The same case was with the Ao-Naga society, as they were mainly engaged in agriculture and head-hunting, they were strongly tied to its village origin. Sema (1986: 2) states that, "The different tribes, which now constitute the Naga people, are rigidly distinct from one another. In many cases these tribes existed in complete isolation. Their contact with one another was restricted to head-hunting and frequent warfare." Ninety per cent of the total population of Nagaland were lived in rural areas and they were mainly engaged in agriculture. The mainstay of the economy of the state was agriculture.

However, in modern days the above stated conditions have undergone change with the advent of industrialization. More people migrate to the cities and towns in search of employment. Longchar (1995: 154), states that, "Many are forced to leave their homes, relatives and villages to go and work in towns, offices, industries and so forth." The migrants included in the present study belong to different socio-economic background, who have migrated from different villages and towns.

From the above discussion, in the present study, a general trend in the occupational mobility among migrants before and after migration will be examined. In this case, the respondents who were employed before migration have been included. Next attempt will be made to determine the differential mobility rates between the rural-urban and urban-urban migrants. This analysis will include all the respondents those who have migrated themselves purposely in search of employment from different villages and towns to the Mokokchung town.

According to the available data, out of 600 (six hundred) respondents, 407 (67.83%) of them were village born and 193 (32.17%) were born in towns and cities. Again, there were 178 (29.67%) respondents, migration took place in the grandfather and fathers generations, and 422 (70.33%) of the respondents themselves have migrated from different villages and towns. In this case, the respondents who have purposely migrated in search of employment have been included. Out of these 422 (70.33%) migrants, there were 124 (29.38%) of the respondents were not employed before migration and 298 (70.61%) of them were employed in various positions included in the occupational classifications. Thus the below table shows the occupational positions of 298 (70.61%) migrants before and after migration.

**Table 20: Occupational Positions of 298 (70.61%) Migrant Respondents Before and After Migration.**

Occupation	Before Migration	After Migration
Prof. & Adm.	2 (0.67)	4 (1.34)
Ex. & Mang.	31 (10.40)	34 (11.40)
Insp. Sup. (Higher)	63 (21.14)	58 (19.46)
Insp. Sup. (Lower)	39 (13.08)	35 (11.74)
Skilled	42 (14.09)	57 (19.12)
Semi & Unskilled	21 (7.04)	19 (6.37)
Farming	51 (17.11)	36 (12.08)
Other Occupations	49 (16.44)	55 (18.45)
Total	298 (100)	298 (100)

From Table 20, it is shown that, out of 298 (70.61%) migrants, 2 (0.67%) of the respondents were engaged in professional type of occupation before migration, and the per cent increased to 4 (1.34%) after migration. There were 31 (10.40%) of the respondents engaged in the 2<sup>nd</sup> type of occupation before migration and the per cent increased to 34 (11.40%) after migration. There were 63 (21.14%) of the respondents who were engaged in the 3<sup>rd</sup> type of occupation before migration and the percentage decreases to 58 (19.46%) after migration. There were 39 (13.08%) of the respondents engaged in the 4<sup>th</sup> type of occupations before migration and it is decreased to 35 (11.74%) per cent after migration. There were 42 (14.09%) respondents engaged in the 5<sup>th</sup> type of occupation before migration and the per cent increased to 57 (19.12%) after migration. There were 51 (17.11%) of the respondents who were engaged in farming before migration, decreased to 36 (12.08%) per cent after migration. Finally, there were 49 (16.44%) of the respondents engaged in different types of other occupations before migration the percentage increased to 55 (18.45%) after migration.

From Table 20, with regard to the occupational positions of 298 (70.61%) migrant respondents before and after migration, it is seen that, the rate of mobility after migration is not very high. Respondents engaged in four (1, 2, 5 and 8) categories of occupations have experienced a very low rate of mobility, only 1-2 per cent of them have moved into higher level of occupations after migration. Respondents engaged in 3, 4, 6 to 7 categories of occupations, the percentage appeared to be decreasing. Thus from the calculated data it may be observed that the general trend of occupational mobility after migration is significantly increased in non-manual type of occupation and the percentage appeared to be decreasing in manual type of occupation.

Next attempt will be made to compare the present occupational background of those 298 (49.67%) migrants respondents after migration, to the 124 (20.67%) migrants respondents who were not employed before migration and the 178 (29.67%) respondents who were migrated in the father and grandfathers generations. This table will also analyze the idea about how migration leads to change of occupation among the Ao migrants and why occupational continuities are there despite migration.

**Table 21: Present Occupational Positions of Migrant (who were Unemployed, Employed before Migration) and Non-Migrant Respondents**

Occupation	Employed before migration	Unemployed before migration	Non-migrants	Total
Prof. & Adm.	4 (40)	2 (20)	4 (40)	10 (1.67)
Ex. & Manag.	34 (34.69)	28 (28.57)	36 (36.73)	98 (16.33)
Insp. Sup.	58 (51.78)	21 (18.75)	33 (29.46)	112 (18.67)

(Higher)					
Insp. Sup.	35 (40.22)	22 (25.28)	30 (34.48)	87 (14.5)	
(Lower)					
Skilled	57 (61.29)	15 (16.12)	21 (22.58)	93 (15.5)	
Semi & Unskilled	19 (33.92)	15 (26.78)	22 (39.28)	56 (9.33)	
Farming	36 (90)	2 (5)	2 (5)	40 (6.67)	
Others	55 (52.88)	19 (18.26)	30 (28.84)	104 (17.33)	
Total	298 (49.67)	124 (20.67)	178 (29.67)	600 (100)	

From Table 21, it is shown that, out of 10 (1.67%) respondents who were engaged in professional type of occupations, 4 (40%) of them were employed before migration, 2 (20%) of them were not employed before migration, and 4 (40%) of them were non-migrants. Out of 98 (16.33%) engaged in the 2<sup>nd</sup> type of occupations, 34 (34.69%) of them were employed, 28 (28.57%) were unemployed and 36 (36.73%) were non-migrants. Out of 112 (18.67%) respondents engaged in the 3<sup>rd</sup> type of occupational position, 58 (51.78%) of them were employed, 21 (18.75%) of them were unemployed and 33 (29.46%) of them were non-migrants. Out of 87 (14.5%) of the respondents, 35 (40.22%) of them were employed before migration, 22 (25.28%) of them were unemployed and 30 (34.48%) of them were non-migrants. Out of 93 (15.5%) respondents engaged in the skilled type of occupations, 57 (61.29%) of them were employed, 15 (16.12%) of them were unemployed and 21 (22.58%) of them were non-migrants. Out of 56 (9.33%) respondents engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations, 19 (33.92%) of them were employed, 15 (26.78%) of them were unemployed and 22 (39.28%) of them were non-migrants. Out of 40 (6.67%) of the respondents engaged in different kinds of farming, 36 (90%) of them were employed before migration, 2 (5%) of them were

unemployed and another 2 (5%) of them were non-migrants. There were 104 (17.33%) respondents engaged in different types of business, NGOs, church works, etc., 55 (52.88%) of them were employed before migration, 19 (18.26%) of them were unemployed and 30 (28.84%) of them were non-migrants.

It may be observed that the present Ao migrant respondents who were unemployed before migration were engaged in traditional occupation in their respective villages. The traditional system of occupation for the Aos was agriculture (shifting cultivation). Agriculture was the main occupation though there were some people who, besides cultivation engaged themselves in traditional crafts and manufactures like basketry, wood carving, weaving, pottery, blacksmith etc. The most significant changes that have been noticed among them is giving up shifting cultivation as their main occupation. The practice of such occupation by them in the villages was treated as traditional occupation and it restricted or bounded the people within the villages and also within the society. The traditional occupation (shifting cultivation) is a low production and old method of cultivation according to the modern view of the Aos.

However, it may be mentioned that though there are many people who have entered into government service or business, contract works, etc. and live a better life than the cultivators, yet, the vast majority in the rural areas people are still cultivators and cultivation is the main source of livelihood. Even those who are gainfully employed in government service or engaged in business, cultivate the field though not for full

time. They hire labourers on daily wage or annual wage for the agricultural operations. Most of the people who are residing in towns possess a plot of land in their respective villages for cultivation. They cultivate it with much satisfaction not for the sake of profit, but to satisfy themselves of their enthusiasm and interest in having a cultivation of their own where they could produce some crops, and vegetables for home consumption.

There are some people staying in the town and still engages in traditional crafts and manufactures. They make household uses such as baskets for storing vegetables, fruits, etc. Women weave mekhala, shawl, hand bags in modern design. They also often go for hunting animals and birds and fishing during off time. This, it may be observed that the Ao migrants are not totally isolated from traditional occupations (consisting cultivation, crafts and manufactures) but still hold some of them to some extent in spite of the effect of migration in the life of the Ao people.

About 124 (20.67%) of the persons formerly engaged in agricultural occupations have switched over to various other occupations after the migration took place. The majority of such persons have either joined government service or have become businessmen in the town. It can be said that migration is also another factor besides Christianity and education that have an important effect on the life of Ao people that it has brought about change in the occupational pattern with reference to Ao people. The traditional idea that traditional occupations were inferior to modern occupation to Ao people still holds true to this day. Ao has

been said some traditional occupations were done away with the coming of the Christian religion, formal education, and migration but Ao people are still not free from the influence of the traditional occupations.

Next attempt will be made to measure the mobility differentials between rural born respondents and urban born respondents.

**Table 22: Occupational Mobility Among the Rural Born and Urban Born Respondents**

Occupation	Rural born	Urban born	Total
Prof. & Admn.	3 (30)	7 (70)	10 (1.67)
Ex. & Man.	50 (51.02)	48 (48.93)	98 (16.33)
Insp. Sup. (Higher)	78 (69.64)	34 (30.35)	112 (18.67)
Insp. Sup. (Lower)	51 (58.62)	36 (41.37)	87 (14.5)
Skilled	62 (66.67)	31 (33.33)	93 (15.5)
Semi & Unskilled	52 (92.85)	4 (7.14)	56 (9.33)
Farming	35 (87.5)	5 (12.5)	40 (6.67)
Other Occupations	76 (73.07)	28 (26.92)	104 (17.33)
Total	407 (67.83)	193 (32.17)	600 (100)

From Table 22, it is shown that, out of 10 (1.67%) respondents engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations, 3 (30%) of them were village born, 7 (70%) of them were born in towns and cities. Out of 98 (16.33%) respondents engaged in 2<sup>nd</sup> type of occupations, 50 (51.02%) were rural born and 48 (48.97%) of them were urban born. Out of 112 (18.67%) respondents engaged in 3<sup>rd</sup> type of occupations, 78 (69.64%) of them were village born, and 34 (30.35%) of them were urban born. Out of 87 (14.50%) respondents engaged in 4<sup>th</sup> type of occupations, 51 (58.62%) of them were rural born and 36 (41.37%) of them were urban born. Out of 93 (15.50%) respondents engaged in 5<sup>th</sup> type of occupations, 62 (66.67%) of them were rural born

and 31 (33.33%) of them were urban born. Out of 56 (9.33%) respondents engaged in 6<sup>th</sup> type of occupations, 52 (92.85%) of them were rural born and 4 (7.14%) of them were urban born. Out of 40 (6.67%) respondents engaged in different kinds of farming, 35 (87.5%) of them were rural born and other 5 (12.50%) of them were urban born. Out of 104 (17.33%) respondents engaged in other occupations, 76 (73.07%) of them were village born and 28 (26.92%) of them were urban born one.

Next attempt will be made to determine the differential mobility rates between the rural-urban and urban-urban migrants. This analysis will include all the respondents, who have purposely migrated from different villages and towns in search of employment.

**Table 23: Occupational Mobility Among 422 Migrants from Rural-Urban and Urban-Urban Areas**

Occupation	Rural-Urban	Urban-Urban	Total
Prof. & Admn.	1 (16.67)	5 (83.33)	6 (1.42)
Ex. & Man.	21 (33.87)	41 (66.12)	62 (14.69)
Insp. Sup. (Higher)	33 (42.30)	46 (58.22)	79 (18.72)
Insp. Sup. (Lower)	28 (49.12)	29 (50.87)	57 (13.50)
Skilled	34 (47.22)	38 (52.77)	72 (17.06)
Semi & Unskilled	15 (44.11)	19 (55.88)	34 (8.05)
Farming	20 (52.63)	18 (47.36)	38 (9.00)
Other Occupations	32 (43.24)	42 (56.75)	74 (17.53)
Total	183 (43.36)	239 (56.63)	422 (100)

From Table 23, it is shown that, out of 6 (1.42%) migrants who were engaged in professional type of occupations, 1 (16.67%) have migrated from rural to the Mokokchung town, 5 (83.33%) have migrated

from urban areas. Out of 62 (14.69%) migrants engaged in 2<sup>nd</sup> type of occupations, 21 (33.87%) have migrated from rural areas, and 41 (66.12%) have migrated from urban areas. There were 79 (18.72%) respondents engaged in 3<sup>rd</sup> type of occupations. Out of these, 33 (42.30%) were migrated from rural areas and 46 (58.22%) were migrated from urban areas. Of 57 (13.50%) respondents engaged in the 4<sup>th</sup> type of occupations, 28 (49.12%) were migrated from rural areas and 29 (50.87%) of them from urban areas. Out of 72 (17.06%) respondents engaged in skilled type of occupations, 34 (47.22%) from rural areas and 38 (52.77%) were from urban areas. Out of 34 (8.05%) respondents engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations, 15 (44.11%) have migrated from rural areas, and 19 (55.88%) have migrated from urban areas. Out of 38 (9.00%) respondents engaged in different kinds of farming, 20 (52.63%) have migrated from rural areas and 18 (47.36%) have migrated from urban areas. In the final type of occupations, out of 74 (17.53%) respondents engaged in other types of occupations, 32 (43.24%) have migrated from rural areas and 42 (56.75%) have migrated from urban areas.

From Table 22, with regard to the occupational mobility among the rural born and urban born respondents, it is seen from the calculated data that, out of 407 (67.83%) village born respondents, majority of them 258 (63.39%) were engaged in non-manual type of occupations (1, 2, 3, 4 and 8) and 149 (36.60%) respondents were engaged in manual type of occupations (5, 6, 7). Out of 193 (32.17%) urban born respondents, 153 (79.27%) of them were engaged in non-manual (1, 2, 3, 4 and 8) type of occupations and only 40 (20.72%) respondents were

engaged in manual (5, 6 & 7) type of occupations. Thus, when the data is viewed in terms of the place of birth, urban born have proved to be more mobile as compared to those who are born in rural areas. It is also observed that, majority of the respondents born in rural areas and many Ao people leave their native place and traditional occupations and work in offices and other jobs in towns.

From Table 23, regarding the occupational mobility among 422 migrants from rural-urban and urban-urban areas, it is clearly seen from the calculated data that the percentage of urban-urban migrants is higher in almost all the categories of occupations, except in farming as compared to their row-wise counterparts from rural areas. When viewed from the column-wise there were 115 (62.84%) of the rural-urban respondents engaged in non-manual (1, 2, 3, 4 & 8) type of occupations, and 69 (37.70%) of them were engaged in manual (skilled, semi & unskilled and farming) type of occupations. There were 163 (68.20%) urban-urban respondents were engaged in non-manual type of occupations and 75 (31.38%) of them were engaged in manual type of occupations. Thus, it may be observed from the calculated data that the percentage of migrant respondents from urban-urban area is higher in the higher level (non-manual) occupations than those who have migrated from rural-rural areas.

### **Conclusion**

The Ao social system is believed to be bounded and rigid, that the ninety per cent of the total population of Aos were lived in rural areas and they were mainly engaged in agriculture and head-hunting, they

were strongly tied to its village origin and non-migratory. Formerly, these people could not carry on trade for fear of enemy, as head-hunting was prevalent in those days. That time the only means of livelihood of the people was agriculture and a few traditional crafts and manufactures for local consumption.

The causes and motivation for the migration of the Ao rural poor to the city and town may be many. It has been observed that the growth of industrial urbanism and improved channels of transportation encourage people for migration from villages to towns and cities leaving behind their traditional occupations and taking up modern industrial one.

The expanding employment opportunities in the growing cities and towns in contrast to the low income in villages also encourage people to migrate to the towns and cities and take up various types of government services, business and other types of non-governmental jobs in organized firms and public establishments. While there is a growing demand for labourer in all these new activities associated with the economic growth of the town. There is increasing unemployment, economic condition, lack of adjustment to the traditional society by the so-called educated youngsters in rural areas. Such a situation those who live in acute distress are forced to leave their villages and their future elsewhere.

The decline in employment opportunities in the village is sometimes due to the erosion of traditional crafts and professions as a result of competition from the modern sector. Thus, basketers, potterers, weavers, cultivators etc., due to low economic condition of the products

people find it difficult to survive and are then forced to change their occupations and begin looking outside their own narrow villages for better prospects. The two main factors, namely the expanding employment opportunities and higher economic condition in urban areas and the shrinking employment opportunities and comparatively lower economic condition in the villages complement and reinforce each other causing a "pull and push" that results in the migration of poor Ao people from villages to the town. It may be observed from the available data that majority of the respondents are village born one, but due to the differential in the income potential between the town and the village is basically the most potent force operating in the economic environment that provides a constant stimulus to potential Ao migrants among the rural poor.

Besides these economic factors there are social circumstances that determine the differences in the propensities to migration. The stimulus to mobility is provided by the encouragement or inducement of town based relations who serve to neutralize the risk and hesitation that inevitably determine the decision-making process. Thus, the so-called Ao rural poor suffering from social injustice for generations often look for opportunities to escape into the town which, apart from better employment, class position and education. For them the town is relatively a social leveler where Government jobs and enterprise counts more than traditional occupations. Thus, large number of Aos pour into the town.

Sometimes the cause of migration may also be sheer adventurism. This is particularly true and observed from Ao youth or those who have received some education and suffer from maladjustment with the traditional profession in the villages. By and large the motivation for migration is generally one of employment and economic gain, but the causes are often a complex mix of factors among the Aos.

In many ways the rural and urban environments are considerably different. In the social setting of a village, an individual has an intimate relationship in a 'familistic atmosphere' within the small groups of family, kin and friends. In contrast to the new environment of the town and city, the relationships are differed, superficial and contractual. They are part of a larger society in which the individuals have a greater degree of anonymity isolation and individualism with exposure to contacts from various sub-cultures. The impact of the new environment, different in many aspects, slowly or rapidly, induces a change in the culture the migrants carry with them from their native villages. They come in contact with educated people living in the town who are wearing western dress, working in offices, conversing in English or Nagamese and so on. Such constant contact helps the Aos to change the old values. The changes as may occur on account of contact get accelerated by the economic pressure. The easiest way to achieve a quick transformation, as they think, is to get jobs either in offices or business where they can work along with other modern people. By doing so they achieve their desire for becoming something else, somewhat higher. In all these cases they want to achieve the position of the modern people who are staying in towns and cities and are engaged in several traditional free white

collar jobs in offices or other institutions. Thus the relative stability or instability in their ways of life and the pace of change is balanced between the cultural background they carry from the village and the intensity of the new social forces in the town life.

It is generally observed that, the respondents with less year of residence did not give any positive response towards the idea of settlement in the town. The rate of willingness increases with longer of residence among the AOs to settle in the town. It is also found that, some of the workers are more mobile as compared to others. Those who are engaged in lower types of occupations, such as skilled, semi and unskilled workers etc., are assumed to be more stable. Among the higher occupational strata, it is education and specialization that gives opportunities to climb to a still higher strata. Owing to better income opportunities they sometimes tend to move to other areas and hence not prefer to settle in one particular place.

It is also generally observed that, workers in lower occupational positions are more secure and satisfied with their occupational status, and hence want to settle in the town. Owing to a lack of adequate formal education and training, they also cannot aspire for a higher occupational status. The same is not true of the respondents engaged in occupations with higher social standing. Some of them do not have job satisfaction because of the disparity between their educational background and their lack of occupational achievement. It is the situation that prevents higher rank employees from settling at a particular place until they reach certain level of job satisfaction. This reason might be applied to Ao

migrants in Mokokchung town also. The higher rank workers have higher mobility (occupational) aspirations as compared to lower ones.

The Ao migrants experience occupational mobility by virtue of their migration to urban areas. Before migration they were lived in rural areas and mainly engaged in agriculture. Besides cultivation, they also engaged themselves in traditional crafts and manufactures like basketry, pottery, weaving, blacksmith etc. However, after migration, the above stated occupations have undergone change. Many people have entered into government jobs or business and live a better life than the cultivators. It is observed that, most of these people who are residing in towns and entered different types of jobs besides cultivation they do some of the traditional occupations as side job. They cultivate field but with an improved method to raise agricultural production. There are some people who are still doing the traditional crafts and manufactures. Men make household uses such as baskets and furniture, and women weave mekhala, shawl, bags etc., in modern design. Thus one can see that the Ao migrants are not totally isolated from traditional occupations despite migration.

It may also be observed that the general trend of occupational mobility after migration is remarkably increased in non-manual type of occupation and it is appeared to be decreasing in manual type of occupation. It is also clearly seen from the available data that the migrants who were employed before migration and non-migrants respondents were placed in better positions occupationally as compared to those who were unemployed before migration. When the available

data is observed in terms of the place of birth, majority of the respondents were born in rural areas have migrated to urban areas in search of employment. It is also seen from the calculated data that the percentage of urban-urban migrants is higher in almost all the categories of occupations as compared to rural-urban areas. Thus, it may be observed that the percentage of migrants from urban-urban area is higher in the higher level occupations than those who have migrated from rural-rural areas.

Generally, the impact of migration on Ao people refers to the occupational achievement, economic condition, mode of dwelling, diet and dress etc. The impact of migration on the people may vary from one individual to another, depending upon their occupational status and economic condition.

Till 1970s these people were lived in rural areas and mainly engaged in traditional occupation (shifting cultivation). Their contact with one another was restricted as head-hunting was prevalent in those days. Thus, the Aos were not migratory people but tied to its village origin. But now the things have undergone change due to the migration of the people from the rural areas to urban areas. The growth of urbanism and improve channels of transportation encourage people for migration from villages to towns, leaving behind their traditional occupations and taking up modern occupations. Now people come in contact with the outside world and they are gainfully entered in government service or in business for their livelihood. Rapid developmental works have been noticed after the creation of Nagaland

as a state in 1963. It affected the lives of the people greatly in occupational pattern and the distinction between rich and poor began to emerge which were not existed before.

In the past the cultivators usually lived in thatched house, consumed traditional food and wore traditional dresses. But now their houses are different, the traditional diet is supplemented with new items and they dress in modern design. Such trend is limited especially, to those who are in services or businesses and in economically comfortable and staying in towns and cities. Now they are able to send their children to different schools in the hope that they may get better education and occupational status.

Traditionally, people had no household furniture except some wooden seats to sit on and wooden planks or bamboo mats to sleep on. But nowadays, chairs, tables and modern furniture such as sofa sets, and a variety of designed cupboards are found in every household. Formerly their cooking utensils were mostly earthen pots but it has been replaced by aluminium and steel ones. Many of them own luxury things like vehicles, fridge, mobile phone, T. V., computer etc.

The coming in contact with the modern civilization and the expansion of administration, establishment of developmental works, growth of communications, innovations in agricultural patterns, and many other factors have brought about a new economic trend in the Ao society. There are many people who not only work in the office and in business but also engage themselves in other traditional occupations. They cultivate vegetables, fruits, women weave clothes for the family

basic needs, men make baskets for household uses etc. Such side works also provide them better income and comfortable life than the rest of the cultivators.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

The Ao society lived in isolation for decades and was characterized by jhum cultivation and head hunting. The traditional system of occupation, administration, religion, low pace of modernization and limited urban growth have always restricted occupational mobility among the Aos.

In the nineteenth century a significant landmark of change have been noticed in the history of the Ao people. The study of socio-cultural and economic life of the Aos has become more important or significant in the post first world war and the second world war. The whole attitude and the life style of the Aos have considerably changed during the first great war (1917) as observed by Tajen Ao (1984: 44). It witnessed a change from traditional to modernity. Thus, shifting of people from rural areas to urban areas and giving up of the traditional occupation and taking up new occupations among the Aos have been remarkably noticed.

The second phase of socio-cultural and economic change was noticed during the post-independence period.

The Aos, like any other tribes of Nagaland, has been traditionally living with the soil within their own villages in almost relatively isolated from the rest of the civilized world. The soil that gave them not only identity, but also sustenance. They led a simple life according to

their own way of life, following their own customs and traditions in all matters of socio-political activities. However, through the introduction of Christianity and British rule, people were forced to opt for the non-traditional avenues of work, that is, work unrelated to the soil, and to work for money in all sorts of employment.

Thus prior to the arrival of the British and Christian missionary in Nagaland, the Ao tribe lives a simple life and characterized by jhum cultivation and head-hunting. Their way of life including occupations, food habits, dresses, house patterns, beliefs, customs and traditions were strictly observed and maintained as the forefathers lived. But now their socio-cultural and economic life are changing.

More rapid changes taken place in the employment pattern among the Aos during the post-independence period. With the creation of statehood, the Government of India launched a series of developmental programmes in the state which transformed the Naga society in general and Ao society in particular from a backward colonial system into a modern one.

According to Ruivah (1993), "With the advent of Christianity social transformation of the Tangkhul society has taken place in numerous ways." He further points out that, "Tangkhul are getting higher education, technical education and many are employed in high placed jobs." Thus, in Ao society, changes have been so well absorbed and integrated with what remained of the traditional culture that changes did not create any tension as could be seen in the studies of Ruivah in his ethnographic accounts on the Tangkhul Nagas.

In the present study, these people experienced various kinds of occupational adaptations, which were not known to forefathers. As in the works of Mahanta (1992), in Mawshbuit village he found that the villagers experienced various kinds of occupational adaptations, which were not known to tribal people earlier due to increasing of urban influences. He further found that changing occupational structure through occupational diversification is required augmentation in the level of skills among the workers.

So far we have been noticed that the coming of the British administration, spread of Christianity, modern education, urbanism, transportation has a tremendous impact on occupational mobility among the Ao people. It was only through these modernization factors, people rushed in for employment other than cultivation.

Christianity and education has a great impact on occupational mobility among the Aos. It is only through Christianity that the opportunity have opened before them for education and for employment outside home.

In modern society, unlike in the caste bound and traditional society, the occupational status of an individual is not ascribed merely by birth or heredity but is also achieved by hard work, education and training. Earlier, when there were limited educated people and unemployment problem was not existed, they did not require so much specialization and training for entering a job, but these days the thing is not same. Different occupations are being transformed into professions demanding skill and standard training.

Imchen (2000: 46) while writing about the economic life of the Ao people says that, "Economically, the Aos depended on the agricultural products from the known history. They were not migratory people but their villages are stationary and unchanging. Therefore every village had their land. This was one of the reasons why Aos become agricultural tribe."

The growth of industrial urbanism and improve channels of transportation encourage people for migration from villages to towns and cities leaving behind their traditional occupations and taking up modern industrial one. Till 1970s there were only 2 out of hundred people lived in the town. Agriculture was the main occupation for the Ao-Naga people, where 90% of the total population lived in the villages and engaged in cultivation. Now people come in contact with the outside world and they are gainfully employed in government service or some of them are engaged in business for their livelihood. By taking up the modern industrial type of occupation they fell better and live a more comfortable life than cultivation.

Taking all the above discussion factors into account, here some of the following conclusions have been emerged from the analyzed data.

With regard to the socio-economic background of the 600 respondents included in various occupations, majority (67.83%) of them are born in village, and only few (33%) of them are born in different towns and cities. It may be observed that, in some cases, migration took place in the grandfathers and fathers generation and

majority of them are migrated from different villages. Their educational attainment level is maximum (26%) in graduate level and minimum (1.5%) in doctorate level, which is a recent trend of educational degree for the Ao people. The present occupational position falls majority (18.67%) in inspectional, supervisory and higher grade category followed by other occupation (17.33%). It may be observed that, due to the existence of unemployment problem in the state, many of them are diverted to independent type of jobs, such as shop-keeping, farming (poultry, piggery, vegetable) and different kinds of business. In regard to their income and class positions, they are generally belonged to medium level.

In regard to the inter and intra-generational occupational mobility, majority of the grandfathers 553 (92.17%) were engaged in traditional occupation (exclusively jhum cultivation) due to lack of education and exposure to urban societies. There was a gradual but slow mobility from traditional occupations to those of modern and secular occupations. From the second generation level (father) they slowly moved into category 1, 2, 3 and 5 which were totally nil or very less percentage in the grandfathers generation. Regarding the farming type of occupation, from the third generation level (respondent) traditional occupation (jhum cultivation) was given up but they took up poultry, dairy and vegetable type of farming. Thus the mobility rate has been found to be gradually increasing from one generation to another. The data therefore, shows that there is a marked degree of increase in the rate of shift from traditional to that of modern occupations. With regard to the horizontal and vertical mobility among the four

generation, the rate of upward mobility is high in all the four generations, majority of them left their parental occupations and moved vertically to higher level of occupations other than parental traditional occupations.

With regard to the intra-generational occupational mobility the percentage of those who did not experience any occupational change is higher 305 (50.33%) than the respondents who have experienced one to three changes and even more 295 (49.17%). Majority of them shifts to other occupations than their parents occupation, only less percentage enters their father's occupations. The rate of shifting is more among young people than older people since they are close to the beginning of their work life they can be more readily take advantage of new opportunities. Respondents with more qualified and better paid group are more mobile than less qualified and poorly paid groups. The mobility rate is high in case of respondents engaged in non-manual occupation than manual occupations. Those who are engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations are less mobile as it is the topmost category of occupation most of the people got retired at this stage. Next is farming and other occupations. There is more of a horizontal intra-generational mobility among the respondents. Many of them have moved to occupations that are on a par with their previous occupations.

The most important factor of social change among the Ao was brought about by British missionaries in the early part of the 1870s. With the advent of Christianity social transformation of the Ao society

has been taken place in many ways. Many indigenous social practices and aspects of culture were abolished and many modifications were made in the traditional social customs and practices. With regard to the impact of religion on occupational mobility among the aos, as is seen from the analysis data among the four generations, during grandfathers' and fathers' generation, most of the Ao people were non-Christian and illiterate. They mainly engaged in agriculture for their livelihood and not migratory. Thus it may be observed that, with the coming of Christianity there is a tremendous change in the Ao society which has also opened new channels for occupational mobility.

In the field of education, people are realizing the importance of educating children. The result could be seen from the various categories of educational level attained by them. The people in the village are not restricted to the home or village. Now, they have the freedom to venture out of the village in search of education and jobs.

It is to be observed here that, though the Aos are on the way to modernization, they still retain some of the traditional occupations. Despite migration, many of them still cultivate field as side occupation. They also make baskets, weave clothes, during their off time. They do such things to provide them better income as well as to retain much of the traditional values of the Ao society.

With regard to the impact of education on occupation mobility among the Aos, majority of the grandfathers were illiterates, and also a corresponding level of occupational status. The low educational background of the grandfathers in general proved to be an obstacle for

the fathers occupational mobility. There are some cases, where fathers with a very low level of parental background could attain higher occupational status as doctors, scientists, lawyers, etc. Thus, the sons, with a high level of parental education were able to achieve a higher occupational status.

With regard to the impact of migration on occupational mobility, the general trend of occupational mobility after migration the percentage is significantly increased in non-manual type of occupation and the percentage is appeared to be decreasing in manual type of occupation. Those who were employed and non-migrants before migration are placed in better positions occupationally comparing to those who were unemployed before migration. Another observation may be mentioned that, urban-urban area migrants is more in higher level of occupations than rural-urban area migrants.

Now, the Ao society is undergoing a rapid change in their emerging occupational pattern. In response to such situation, they are adapting to a new way of life and in certain cases disregarding their old way of life. A new pattern of occupational mobility is thus emerging in the Ao society in which the old traditional occupational structure is declining, making a new room for modern occupations such as government services, contract works, business etc. The entire system is based upon a highly specialized division of labour. This shift not only possess certain adjustment problems within the occupational field, but also outside in the society. The interaction, contact, adjustment,

assimilation, all these are responsible factors for occupational mobility among the Ao people.

With the contemporary status in the occupational structure and economic development, a new horizons and a new outlook in life, the standard of living of Ao people have been remarkably improved. Changes taking place in the occupational structure of the Aos (reflected much on the day-to-day's need and take shape in their life style). It also reflects on the family life, social life, customs and traditions, religious beliefs and practices and education system, economic system etc.

There are thus three major approaches in the present study which have to be resolved in future course of action. One, extensive employment programmes for the new educated generation in different types of enterprises are essential. Two, training in improved farming methods is essential in order to increase their outputs and thereby creating employment for the unemployed. And three, management of natural resources should be improved as the flow of external people gives rise to the problem of adjustment in all respects of social, political and economic.

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